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ART. I.—*Commentar über das neue Testament. Von H. E. G. Paulus.* 8vo. Lubeck. 1803.

*Commentary on the New Testament, by H. E. G. Paulus.*  
4 Vols. 8vo.

THE celebrated author of this commentary was formerly professor of eastern languages at the university at Jena, and is now professor of theology at Würzburg, and president of the consistory. He has long been known in the learned world as a most profound oriental and classical scholar. In 1789, he edited, at Tübingen, Abdollatiff's Arabic compendium of the history of Ægypt. In 1790, he published at Jena, an Arabic translation of Isaiah by Saadiah Haggaon, (a *Clavis ueber Jesaius* was added, we believe, in 1793) derived from a manuscript in the Bodleyan library at Oxford, which had been described by Pococke, and edited by White. To the high value of these editions, Michaelis bears strong testimony in his *Orientalische Bibliothek*, No. 125 and 135. We had also occasion to notice a later publication by this same writer in the *Critical Review* for 1804, (vol. 2, p. 556); nor is this by any means the sum of his literary exertions. But the most important, the most comprehensively learned, and critically discriminating, of all his works is unquestionably the commentary which we are now about to examine. The bold originality of its views will require an accurate and copious analysis.

In the prosecution of this arduous task we know that we shall incur the malicious hostility of the bigot; but we trust that every impartial and disinterested votary of truth will do justice to the purity of our intentions and the phi-

lanthropy of our views. We are not exclusively devoted to the dogmas of any sect. We respect, we venerate the TRUE CHRISTIAN ; but Trinitarians, Arians, and Socinians, are alike indifferent to us. We love none of their invidious distinctions, their sectarian and unbrotherly names. They have too long distracted the world with their vain and senseless logomachies :—it is time to quit the perturbed forum of brawling polemics and to seek for mental tranquillity where alone it is to be found—in the hallowed sanctuary of universal charity and unvitiated truth.

In his preface, Professor Paulus very properly observes that it is essentially requisite for the theologues of all sects clearly to know the precise basis of historical truth on which ALL CHRISTIANITY rests. The attention of this most able scholar, therefore, has been uniformly directed to this common end, which is the main concern of all sects, the correct appreciation of what are the *real historical* contents of the New Testament. The plan which he has adopted for facilitating the evolution of the true *primary* fact, and for separating the adventitious matter in which it has been occasionally enveloped by the opinions of the age, or of the individual relater, has been to print every particular incident in chronological order, and in all the forms which that incident assumes in the several canonical evangelists ; and then to subjoin the substance of the parallel passages, copiously interspersed with illustrative quotations, and other proofs. Thus the work greatly resembles, in its outward form and general construction, Priestley's *Harmony of the Evangelists* ; except that in the latter the text, but in the former the commentary, constitutes the larger part of the volume. Dr. Priestley throws all his evangelists at once into the same sieve ; but Professor Paulus attempts in one process to bolt to the very bran the historical matter of the *three* evangelists, who appear to have derived their narrations from a common source. He then proceeds to examine the account of John with the same critical nicety and to reconcile it to that of his predecessors. In the three first volumes of this commentary the author examines conjointly the gospels of Luke, of Matthew, and of Mark, which he arranges in an order analogous to the priority of time in which he supposes them to have written. The fourth volume of the commentary is consecrated exclusively to John.

In a metaphysical introduction the author discusses the fundamental principles of biblical criticism. In the choice of readings, that text is to be preferred, whose antiquity can with most probability be established. To this leading principle all others are referable, or subordinate ; criticisms about the purity, the genuineness, the fitness, the grammatical correctness, or rhetorical propriety of a passage, are totally

insignificant, unless as far as they tend to the restoration of the original reading.

The professor then proceeds to subdivide, in a very dry and scholastic manner, the various forms of proof which are usually employed, which in many cases can amount only to a greater or less degree of probability. Six several gradations of authority are discriminated, accordingly as texts can be traced back (1) to the Alexandrian recension, (2) to the occidental recension, (3) to the Constantinopolitan recension, (4) to the copy inferred to have been used by the author of the Syriac version, (5) to the eclectic, or mixed, revision of Chrysostom and others, (6) to the hasty and inaccurate copies of early transcribers. The theory and practice of interpretation, or the hermeneutic arts, are next defined; and every possible caution and precaution is enumerated, for bringing out the precise meaning of the original expression, accompanied with all its minutest ramifications of associated sense.

After thus delineating the model of a perfect critic, Professor Paulus begins his own attempt to realize it. His first section analyzes the preface to Luke's gospel (c. i. v. 1—4): he does not suspect, as some conjectural commentators have done, that this preface is posterior to the gospel; or a dedication by a later hand; on the contrary, he considers it as authentic, and extracts from it an analysis of the sources of the gospel history. These he makes to be (1) traditional accounts of cotemporaries (*οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*); and of such (2) as were friendly to the cause (*ὁ λόγος*), and willing to promote it, rather than of those who lived at the same period but were hostile to it; (3) collective and fuller accounts which many had undertaken to *set forth in order*. But whether these more complete relations, compiled from scattered individual tradition, were written, or only *oral*; whether these earlier evangelists, went about, as rhapsodists, like Homer with his poems, repeating from memory those particulars which they had collected concerning the history of Jesus; or whether there were earlier *written* biographies, is not definitely proved by the text: *ἐπιχειροῦσαν* does not necessarily suggest the idea of written information. Theophilus, apparently a man of eminence, seems to have had recourse to *oral* instruction (*κατηχηθὲν περὶ . . .*). In Ephesians (iv. 11.) in Acts (xxi. 8.) there is an allusion to some of these oral evangelists; perhaps also in 2 Timothy (iii. 6.); for in the language of the early christians *συναγχεῖσθαι* was to go about and relate to collected audiences the life, the acts and lessons of Jesus. Probably Luke, in order to oblige Theophilus with a more formal and less fugitive narrative, had recourse to several of these itinerant evangelists, that, by a comparison of their testimony, his own account might come the nearer to certainty.

Professor Paulus thinks it possible, though he does not seem to favour the hypothesis, that some *vernacular* written narrative was possessed by the rhapsodical, or travelling evangelists; and there may be an allusion to this narrative, when mention is made of the gospel according to the Hebrews, or according to Matthew; and it may have supplied those memorandums which the three first gospel-writers employ in common. But in any case, he adds, that the *diagnosis* of Luke; is a *private rescript from, and for, a private person*. This purpose, or destination of the narrative ought not to be forgotten in the course of the perusal.

The preceding observations occur in what may be called the paraphrase; this is succeeded by numerous notes; among which the most generally interesting would be that respecting the quality of Theophilus. Was it Theophilus, son of the high-priest Channas, and himself for a short time high-priest at the period of the death of Tiberius? Or was it Theophilus, known by a citation from Bar Bahlul (Castell. in Lex. Heptaglot.) as *primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienses*? To this latter conjecture the preference is given, for reasons which are supported by various authorities. It is inferred that the curiosity of the Alexandrians, occasioned the composition of the Greek gospels.

The second section is a comment on v. 5—25. of the first chapter of Luke. The whole narrative from i. 5. to ii. 40. strikes Professor Paulus as written in a more Hebraistic style than the preface, or than the other parts of the gospel. He ascribes this not to its coming from another hand, but from another source. He thinks that, in the family of Zacharias, some notices were likely to have been written, and preserved; concerning John the Baptist: and that Luke had consulted these notices in order to procure some information respecting the early years of Jesus, whose turn of mind was influenced by that of his kinsman and companion. Zacharias, being a priest, would naturally employ a biblical phraseology; and while Luke was translating, or selecting *his* memorandums, a more Hebraizing style might be expected, than when Luke was composing more freely, and from personal information. The mode of narration which was adopted in this family memoir of Zacharias is next analysed. Thus much may at once be discerned, that Zacharias, who was rather advanced in years, was, while burning incense in the temple, seized with a paralytic stroke, and returned home unable to speak; but that, after the birth of his son John, excited by the feeling of joy and eager to give the boy a name, he recovered the power of articulation.

All nations in the early stages of civilization, and above all the oriental nations, may be observed to think with ideas of the eye, and not with ideas of the ear;—they think in pictures, not



in words. But when persons, who so think, attempt to develop their thoughts in writing, they are often obliged to have recourse to an enormous circuit of words, in order to give to others an idea of a very rapid succession of pictures in their own imagination. If an European is suddenly impressed with a consciousness of declining health, and of approaching decay, he says, *I have had a warning*. If an oriental be alarmed by a similar feeling of impending privation, he says, *I have seen a messenger*. While the supposed European is revolving in his mind the causes of his temporary weakness, he may be led to suspect that he has indulged too liberally in the duties of connubial love; but if an oriental, putting the same case in his own picture language, has to describe such a surmise, he will represent the messenger, or angel, as talking with him, and saying: 'Fear not, thy wife shall have a son.' If the thoughts of the oriental incline him to devote his expected child to some monastic profession (superstition often suggests such vows, as an implied condition of recovery from sickness) his fancy will proceed to paint the messenger of fate, as continuing to give directions concerning the dress and diet of his child. Thus a narrative, *circumstantially* similar to that of Zacharias, may easily have afterwards grown out of the attempt to give a minute description of all the particulars relative to the birth of a son, who had become so remarkable as John the Baptist. Those prospective trains of thought which the event realizes, are considered as prophetic, are selected for distinction, and are eagerly ascribed to the suggestion of a superior power. The probability of the whole series of phenomena which are here imputed to the mind of Zacharias, leads us to place an unhesitating reliance on the authenticity, originality, and authority of the document, in which the narrative occurs.

This is a specimen of the manner (though we have abridged, transposed, and omitted much, for the sake of a necessary condensation) in which what may be called the psychologic part of the commentary is executed. The archæologic part is not less curious, reflective, and profound. The plan and construction of the temple, the ritual which was used during the burning of incense, the orderly services of the priesthood, are eruditely investigated and accurately explained. The arguments are enumerated and refuted, which the Socinian commentators have produced for supposing this first chapter, and much of the second chapter, to be an after-addition to Luke. A long metaphysical treatise on the limitations of historical credibility intervenes, which is succeeded by a chronological enquiry into the date of the birth of John the Baptist. In the note to the 15th verse, Professor Paulus paraphrases *πνευμα ἄγιον* by the words *force of mind devoted to God*, (in German *gottgeweyhte*

*geisteskraft*); as if he considered the expression to be nearly synonymous with sanctanimity, or holy-mindedness. In the note to the 19th verse, it is observed that the Jews imported the names of their angels, as well as of their months, from Babylon: that Gabriel signifies *man of the mighty one*; that, of the four angels who stood about the throne of God, the situation *in front* was assigned to Gabriel: that Zacharias, being intent on the holy of holies, when he was seized with paralysis would refer the appearance of the messenger to the central situation in front, and might hence be led to give him the designation Gabriel. A further intimation is given, in a subsequent note at p. 59, that the orientals appear to have considered the angel Gabriel as *presiding over generation*, perhaps from the etymology of his name; and this opinion might contribute to individualize the internal apparition. Consult, on this subject, the comments on the nineteenth sura of the koran, especially those of Al Beidawi.

The third section discusses the paragraph extending from the 26—38 verse of the first chapter of Luke. As this fragment throws new lights on a question, which has in our own country occasioned great differences of opinion between the Trinitarian and Socinian churches, we will translate the prefatory paraphrase.

\* In the sixth month of the pregnancy of the priestess Elizabeth, at a time when she was already sure of her maternal felicity which she had made known to her acquaintance (v. 24.), one of her Galilean relations who was then on a visit at the house, whose name was Mary, and who was betrothed to Joseph, a descendant of David, discovers also a hope, through the mediation of the same throne-angel, of whom so much had been mentioned in the family (for Zacharias had used his writing-tablet previous (v. 65.) to the circumcision of his son) to obtain a pregnancy which should be eminently blessed and holy.

\* She, too, anxiously desired a son; but she would give him a name of higher significance, and call him after Joshua, the saviour of the people. The old prophets were mostly born of priestly families. The highest (i. 76.) expectation which was cherished by the wife of a priest, was to bear a prophetic son. But, as a descendant of David, Mary might entertain more elevated and magnificent hopes. She might expect the highest good fortune, which could happen to a Jewish mother, and to bring forth the Messiah himself, the future restorer of the kingdom of David, which was to be subverted no more. Compare H. Stephani on the component parts and progressive evolution of the idea of a Messiah.

\* As it was esteemed uncertain, in the time of Mary, whether the Messiah was to be begotten in the usual human manner; and as, in this sense, the betrothed might enquire *how* the hope that she

fostered could be fulfilled when she was not married; the conclusion is soon identified with her hopes, that in the production of this son there would be *something unusually Godly*; an energy divine, the true efficacy of the Most High, which was to make her the mother of a child, who, in this sense, might be called a son of God.

‘The parallel with her aunt (i. 36.) the priestess, who had so long borne the opprobrium of barrenness, gives a pious assurance to the prophetic anticipations of the virgin: ‘With God nothing shall be impossible.’ One unusual expectation has, as often happens, many still more extraordinary consequences. In futurity lay the result of both.’

The most remarkable note is attached to the 34th and 35th verses: *πας* is equivalent to the questions: by human generation? or how else? Is it to happen when I marry? or without my marrying? seeing I know not a man. The angel of generation answers: *πνευμα*, a breath, a holy, invisible, animating force, shall come upon thee. And the sense is that the conception of the Messiah shall be produced in a *sinless* manner, in a way agreeable to God. In the apocryphal gospel *De Nativ. Mariae*, a like idea occurs: *Virgo, sine peccato concipies*. But *how*? Without all mediate interposition? In the relations of the evangelists no direct answer is given to this question. Still in the 25th verse, where the human interposition is admitted, the narrative is analogous. According to the ideas of many of the old Jews, pure parents attracted, as it were, the Holy Ghost, so that their offspring might be called sons of the Most High. Sohar Genes. ed Sulz. f<sup>o</sup>. says: *Omnes illi qui sciunt se sanctificare in hoc mundo, ut par est, ubi generant, attrahunt super id spiritum sanctitatis, e loco omnis sanctitatis, et exeuntes ab eo illi vocantur filii Jehovæ*. Again the same Sohar in a comment on Leviticus: *Ed horâ quo filius hominis (homo) se sanctificat ad copulandum se cum conjuge consilio sancto, datur super eam spiritus alius plene sanctus*. See also E. C. Schmidt's *Bibliothek für Kritik et Exegetik* (p. 101.) where there are many similar passages, which illustrate what is meant by the Jewish idea of a conception by the Holy Ghost. Several oriental framers of legends have been fond of excluding the idea of carnal interposition from the generation of their saints. Thus the Sabians taught, concerning John, that he was produced by the mere kiss of Zachariah. And the Ægyptians taught (Mela I. 9.) *Apim raro nasci, nec coitu pecoris, sed divinitus et cœlesti igne conceptum*. Justin relates (XV. 4.) *Mater Seleuci Laodice, cum nupta esset Antiocho, visa est sibi per quietem ex concubitu Apollinis concepisse*. After these and other quotations, the professor concludes by a significant pas-

sage from Livy : *Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humano divinis primordia arbutum augustiora faciat.*

The result of the exposition is left indefinite by the writer ; but it amounts to this : that the doctrine of an *immaculate* conception which is so strenuously asserted by the catholics, is more countenanced by scripture, than the doctrine of a *miraculous* conception, which is so zealously vindicated by the protestants.

With an equitable impartiality which is rarely evinced in the theological world, professor Paulus proceeds to consider the hypothesis of an anonymous popular writer among the Germans who has published " a natural history of Jesus of Nazareth." This novel, or conjectural biography, attempts to explain by bold fictions, and without the hypothesis of supernatural interposition the successive incidents in the life of Christ. The adventure of Mary is, in this book, parallelized with a relation of Josephus contained in the *Archæology* (xviii, 3, 4.) respecting an imposition which was practised on Paulina. The author with characteristic temerity, ventures to designate Joseph of Arimathea, the Mundus of his ideal narrative. Others have had recourse to a conjecture, which as they think, derives more support from scriptural intimations, but which we shall not at present explain.

The fourth section comments on Luke i. 39—56. The professor dwells chiefly on the psalm of Mary, 46—55, which he considers as definitive of the idea which Mary had cherished of the expected Messiah ; and consequently as supplying information about the notions which she was likely to impress on the tender mind of her son. Her ideas, he adds, are very earthly ; but the spiritual application enhances the merit of the son. If Zacharias be confessedly the author of this whole family-memoir ; and if he occasionally imparted something of his own devotional taste in paraphrase to Mary and Elizabeth ; still the trains of thought which are obvious in his writings, would be likely to accompany and to cloud the education of his near connections.

The fifth section considers v. 57—80. The 65<sup>th</sup> verse is especially brought out as containing an appeal of the author to his neighbours for the notoriety of the facts which he was detailing. The 67<sup>th</sup> verse gives occasion to an elaborate definition of the verb *to prophesy*, which often meant no more than *to hold forth*, to speak extempore in an exalted strain upon religious topics. Jeremy Taylor uses the word in this sense, and so does Lord Bacon.

The sixth section shifts the scene of commentary to Matthew and considers the verses 13—25, of the first chapter. Matthew

like Luke, had taken pains to obtain original and authentic intelligence concerning the early years of Jesus: but the account, which he procured, evidently comes from Joseph, whose motives of conduct are detailed (i. 19.—and ii. 22.) in a way that no stranger could have detailed them. Yet it is not probable that Joseph drew up this account *in writing*, for Matthew's use; for it is not all from the same mint. Some of it was *thought* in the language of Palestine, as verse 21, where the words *Jesus* and *saw* would suggest one another in the Aramæan, but not in the Greek. Some of it was thought in Greek as verse 23, where the Alexandrian version was likely, and where the Hebrew text of Isaiah was not likely, to excite such a perception of parallelism as could occasion the application of the passage. This change of pen announces an individual, who draws his materials partly from the dictation of another, and partly from his own mind. It may therefore be presumed that Matthew took down the testimony of Joseph, but that he interpolated it. It is Joseph who thinks in Aramæan; it is Matthew who thinks in Greek. One conspicuous feature of the memoir is a regard to dreams, i. 20, ii. 12, ii. 13, ii. 19, ii. 22; which, except in the case of Pilate's wife, xxvii. 19, does not pervade the rest of the gospel, though it is very observable in the Acts. This account, though independent of that of Luke, corroborates it. Their differences prove the absence of conspiracy; their agreement, the exactness of the facts which are common to both. There is nothing irreconcilable in the two accounts.

Some persons have doubted (among ourselves, the editors of the "Improved Version,") whether this narrative, and the connected pedigree of Joseph, always formed a part of the gospel of Matthew, or whether they were a subsequent addition. Professor Paulus thinks that they always formed a part of it: (1.) because they are not omitted in any manuscript: (2.) because Cerinthus and Carpocras, gnostics by inclination, and not favourable to the terrestrial symptoms in the history of Christ, had inferred from the genealogy, that Jesus was Joseph's son; they therefore regarded the genealogy as authentic, and knew that it was so considered by their adversaries: (3.) because the dialogue with Trypho quotes certain passages of scripture with variations from the Alexandrian and from the Hebrew text, but exactly as they occur in the second chapter of Matthew, and therefore probably from this very source: (4.) because, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, several fathers of the church held the gospels which had the genealogies to be the more antient: consequently Matthew and Luke already had the genealogies, in the time of those fathers; (5.)



because neither Julius Africanus nor the ancients refuted by him, who were fathers of the second century, ever questioned their genuineness in their attempts to reconcile their apparent inconsistencies. Among the orthodox fathers, Irenæus (*Contra Hæres.* III. 9, 11,) is the first, who unquestionably had before him the whole context of the two disputed chapters.

In a note on the 19th verse, it is observed, that no person appears to interfere between the two parties about the divorce; whence it may be presumed that they were both of age. We should have drawn from the 20th verse an opposite inference. A messenger of the Lord, that is, according to the author, the image of an adequate determining cause intervenes, and presents itself before Joseph on his pillow.—It is conjectured that this cause might be the dower offered by some powerful relation of the wife. This dower must have been satisfactory (Luke i, 48 and 52,) to Mary, who considers her low estate as exalted by it.

In a note on the 22d verse, an important dissertation occurs concerning the accommodation of passages from the old Jewish, to the incidents related in the Christian scriptures. The author shows, that these passages are mostly employed like classical allusions, as happily descriptive of the passing event; but that the eager or the apt application of them, whenever an opportunity offered, forms no ground for supposing that the authors of these passages knew of the events, to which the adaptation would be made. Citations are mostly to be expounded as parallelisms and analogies.

The seventh section returns to Luke ii. 1—6. Professor Paulus observes that the rabbies in the time of the gospel history, had an idea, that the Messiah, or Christ, was to be born like David, at Bethlehem. Hence an historical critic might be led to enquire, whether the biographers of Jesus, for the sake of corroborating their favourite opinion, that *he* was the object of rabbinical expectation, may not have been induced to devise the anecdote of his being born at Bethlehem. There is a difficulty in reconciling Luke's own date of the birth of Christ with the time when Cyrenius issued an edict for the taxation of Syria. There is a difficulty in supposing that residents at Nazareth would be commanded by any rational tax-master to go and be assessed at Bethlehem. There is a difficulty in supposing that a woman, on the point of parturition, would be compelled to accompany her husband for such an enrolment. There is a difficulty in reconciling the assertion of Matthew that Christ was born under Herod, with his being born under Cyrenius, whose mission was posterior to Herod's death by about ten years. After winnowing the chaff of doubt and weighing in the nicest balance of criticism every atom of

credibility, the professor concludes that the evangelical narratives deserve unhesitating confidence. Augustus may, through Herod, have requested some enrolment of the people, preparatory to that assessment which Cyrenius introduced. In this case, the enrolment and assessment may have been in some degree confounded in the public mind, as parts of the same odious measure, which was ascribed wholly to Cyrenius. The enrolment though previous to the arrival of Cyrenius might without impropriety have been called after him. If this probable enrolment had the taxation of land for its object, it was peculiarly natural, under the Jewish tenure, to order every man into his own tribe, or county, and to compel the production of his pedigree. That the bride should have wished to see Jerusalem, and have undertaken the journey although advanced in her pregnancy, that in her circumstances she should have preferred to lie in from home, and that the fatigue should have produced an unexpected delivery at a village-inn, are particulars in the common order of nature, and highly probable on every account. This narration therefore is deserving of entire acquiescence.

The eighth section respects Luke ii. 7—20. The professor supposes Mary, in consequence of what had passed in the house of Zecharias, to have been strongly imbued with the opinion, that she was to become the mother of the Messiah. He supposes her to have made this expectation a matter of conversation at Bethlehem, and thus to have excited the curiosity of the shepherds to come and see this more than ordinary babe. He supposes the night to have been meteorous, and quotes from Shaw's travels a description of a fen-fire seen in the valley of Ephraim, analogous to that which the shepherds may have seen. Such a phænomenon they would with their superstitions and prejudices, interpret as an appearance of angels, congratulating them on the birth of their future king. And thus he accounts for the origin of a narration, which, though in the picturesque fancy of Zacharias it may seem to have acquired an almost mythologic character, is nevertheless in its essence historically true. From a lively explanation of the original appearances, and a livelier relation of the impressions experienced, may well have proceeded that subsequent relation, which has descended to us. How often is the historian reduced to stand on the *third* step of this gradation of evidence!

The ninth section treats of Luke ii. 21—39. At the time of circumcision, the Jews in general fixed on some godfather and godmother for the child; who, in case of the parents' death, undertook the requisite superintendence. But as we sometimes name a child, as soon as it is born, and reserve a more formal christening for the period, when the mother is sufficiently recovered to

take part in the ceremony; so the Jews sometimes made a domestic private circumcision, and reserved the appointment of the godfather and godmother, until the purification, or churching, of the mother. This seems to have happened in the case before us. Who the Simeon and Anna were, who acted as godfather and godmother, is not known: yet Lightfoot and Michaelis conjecture that Samai, the son of Hillel and the father of Gamaliel, is the venerable priest employed. His wife Abital was of the family of David, and may therefore have been related to Joseph; but it is more probable that the protection of Zacharias, so conspicuous in the early years of Jesus, had solicited this distinguished interference.

The tenth and eleventh sections profess to comment on the two segments, excluding the 12th and 13th verses of the second chapter of Matthew. From the account of Luke, (see especially the 39th verse of the 2nd chapter,) one would suppose the parents of Jesus to have returned strait from Jerusalem to their home at Nazareth; and there to have passed twelve quiet years, without any other journeys, than their yearly visit to Jerusalem in the passover week. There is no symptom of omission in the account of Luke: there is every reason to suppose that Zacharias, the fountain of that account, must, as a neighbour, have known the exact truth. The relation in the second chapter of Matthew, is, on the contrary, encumbered with improbable circumstances. It is true that in an age, when astrology was generally credited, there might well be at Jerusalem some strolling Babylonians, who made a profit of their pretended science. A carpenter and his wife might send for such persons (as we should now express it,) to tell the fortunes of their child; might accept from them presents of trinkets, and reward them according to custom. Such magians might discover in the mother a notion that her child was to become a saviour of the people; and might corroborate her expectations by their flattery. But that Herod, already too old to incur the competition of an infant, should take alarm at the horoscope, that he should order a massacre of all the children in Bethlehem, and that Josephus should not mention this remarkable insanity of cruelty, is indeed very surprizing! And that Joseph should have foreseen this proscription, and, without warning the other inhabitants of Bethlehem, should have undertaken a journey into Egypt, in order to save his foster child, has something in it of legendary improbability! Add to this, that the scriptural quotations, occurring in the second chapter of Matthew, do not appear to be derived from the same versions which were familiar to the author of the first chapter; and some doubt must arise, whether this document be derived from the same source;

and if not, whether from so authentic a source, as the pen of Matthew, or the dictation of Joseph. But the zeal of professor Paulus, for defending the minutest particular recorded in the sacred books, transcends our praise. However willing to solve the marvellous naturally, he is never willing to part with the natural that is marvellous; and he is more willing to suppose an *hiatus* in the second chapter of Luke, an interruption in the narrative of Zacharias, and an improbable omission in Josephus, than to question the story of this migration into Egypt. The tradition of such a migration, preserved by Matthew, but strangely accounted for by his informant, is more likely to respect a period, when the cares of education attracted the foster child of Joseph to the colleges of Alexandria, than the period to which it is here assigned. The notes on this chapter are in many respects admirable, particularly the elaborate and erudite dissertation on the death-year of Herod I. On the whole, Professor Paulus assents to the inference, that the birth of Jesus certainly preceded the vulgar era by nearly four, and possibly by about eight years.

The twelfth section analyzes Luke ii. 40—52. We think that the editors of the Improved Version have shown more critical discrimination than Professor Paulus, in considering this fragment as of the same fabric with the preceding, and in printing the whole of the two first chapters of Luke, as a distinct but uniform document. Professor Paulus, in order to make room for the journey into Egypt, terminates Zacharias's gospel of the infancy, at the fortieth, while the unitarian editors continue it to the end of the fifty-second verse. There is a continuation of one feeling throughout the whole narrative; this part of it like all the preceding, clearly exhibits the honest pride of a father exulting in the celebrity of his race. It was perhaps composed about the time of the baptism of Jesus, when both he and John were in the bloom of a tranquil popularity; and was intended to illustrate the seed-bed of plants, which Zacharias had himself nursed into progressive eminence, and which were become such lofty cedars of God. Perhaps the mournful catastrophe of the elder abridged the father's toils, and broke his heart; and thus closed his eyes to an event yet more terrible and distressing. But while he yet wrote, he yet rejoiced in his descendants. He narrates the examination of Jesus before the doctors in the temple, which no doubt he had commissioned the lad to undergo, and which was to pave the way for a reception into the free schools of the priesthood, with the warm delight of a sympathising relative, who feels that his affectionate endeavours are now recompensed, and that he has inspired a taste for learning and for piety, similar to his own. Kindred sensibility attracts him towards the ingenuous

youth, and puts in the mouth of the boy this sentiment of filial obedience and regard ; *ὡς ἵδεντες ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τῷ πατρὶς μὴ δεῖ ἔναι με* ;

'How many commentators,' says an ingenious critic, 'have passed over this interesting passage without any attempt to penetrate beyond the surface of the sense !!!'

The 'gospel of the infancy' by Zacharias, (for so unquestionably it ought to be named,) which is included in the two first chapters of Luke, deserves on every account a more minute examination than it has hitherto received ; and a higher degree of authority than it has lately obtained. In fact, it is a more credible document than the remainder of Luke's gospel ; because Zacharias was intimately acquainted with the events which he describes, and in which he acted a conspicuous part ; but Luke was not at Jerusalem during the mission of Jesus, and relates it entirely on the authority of others. The one is a relation at first, and the other at second hand. This 'gospel of the infancy' is, in point of time, many years anterior to the composition of the other gospels ; and *has obviously served as a model for the mode of narration adopted in them* ; so that it has proved to christianity itself, what it is to the biography of Christ. It has been the cradle of the whole system. The genuine worth, the ardent piety, the devotional pathos, the scriptural eloquence, and the prophetic erudition of Zacharias, are accompanied by one distinct and prominent personal peculiarity—the characteristic zeal of his anticipations respecting the Messiah. His whole soul seems concentrated in the realization of those hopes of the ELEVATION OF A SECOND DAVID, which were then so fondly cherished and so widely diffused. He looks at the minutest event, as if it were ominous of the expected deliverance ; and both the purity and the philanthropy of his enthusiasm, rendered him worthy to form the redeemer of the people, and to nurture the future author of the salvation so dear to his hope.

The thirteenth section considers the two genealogies, Matthew i. 1—17, and Luke iii. 23—38. Although the names Salathiel and Zerubbabel occur in both, these must be different persons. As one of the genealogies respects the father and the other the mother of Jesus. It appears that the father of Mary was called Eli. A note to the 16th verse starts the question : whence it comes that the Rabbinical writers have, from the earliest times, assigned to the father of Jesus the name of Pandira ? Passages to prove the fact are cited from the Talmud, and the Toldos Jeschu ; but the cause of the opinion is unascertained. There are many gaps in the genealogies, some of which can be filled up from the book of Chronicles : segments of fourteen names were studiously made, and subordinate



names were often dropped in order to fortify the relation. In the genealogy preserved by Matthew, several women, in whose history there was something of equivocal delicacy, are named, as Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Bathsheba; an indirect, but cogent proof, that this is a *family document*, not copied merely from public registers. Yet the concluding words of the pedigree: *Jesus who is called Christ*: look more like an official than a family designation. Josephus uses the same expression concerning the same person.

The note to the 23d verse of the third chapter of Luke remarks, that the age of Christ is here left very indefinite. It was not customary for a Jew to undertake the office of a public teacher before thirty years of age. Any age between thirty and forty may reasonably be inferred from the expression which is employed, and which, by a customary euphemism of civility, probably understates the fact.

With the fourteenth section begins the missionary life of Jesus; in which, Matthew iii. 1—12, Mark i. 1—8, and Luke iii 1—20 are examined.

Professor Paulus greatly laments the wide vacuity between the termination of the preceding and the commencement of these later notices. He attributes this deficiency to the existence of an anterior gospel concerning John the Baptist, which was familiar to the original disciples, and which carried on the narration, from the point where Zacharias breaks off, to the death of John. Hence the author of the first gospel of Jesus, which is probably best preserved in the narrative of Mark, thought it needless to repeat what was known from the biography of John; but begins the history with the recognition of Jesus by the Baptist.

As some indemnity for the loss of specific notices, Professor Paulus attempts a sketch of the general state of sects and parties in Judæa, at the time of the baptism of Jesus. He directs the attention especially to a passage in Josephus, at the beginning of the eighteenth book of the *Archæology*, which relates the rise of a 'fourth philosophy,' or religious sect, founded by Judas of Gamala, and by a pharisee named Saddok. Michaelis calls this sect the new pharisaic, but has not displayed his usual industry in its illustration. By its almost seditious zeal for liberty and independence, by its impatience of taxation and of Roman sway, and by the incitements which it held out to the people to redress their own wrongs, this sect resembled the jacobinism of modern times. But it had other features, which bore a closer resemblance to the millenarians of a century and half ago. In order to foster a spirit of insurrection against the Romans, the Jewish priesthood had very generally introduced in their sermons, those passages of the scriptures, which

promised an everlasting sceptre to the house of David, and a wide-spreading dominion over the contiguous nations. These passages were indeed originally only the flatteries of the hour, the incense of eastern adulation to beings long since extinct, which the revolutions of time had completely falsified, but which national vanity, popular ignorance, and priestly imposture, still believed, or caused to be believed as prophetic, and on the point of fulfilment. The writings ascribed to Daniel were especially in favour. A great party had insensibly been collected of these votaries to a temporal deliverer, of these sanguine zealots for the kingdom of God on earth, of these fond expectants of a conquering Messiah, of these political christians, these ambitious devotees to the gorgeous vision of national redemption. Had a man like Josephus, flourished at that time, who to great military knowledge and conduct united a familiarity with the writings and views of the jewish priesthood, it is not improbable that he might have realized the public wish, and have separated Syria from the dominion of Rome; as Joshua divided it from that of Egypt, or as Washington redeemed America from the British empire. The want of a suitable chieftain seldom fails to frustrate the success of a cause: and disappointed factions, like disappointed individuals, often take a devotional turn.

There is a clue of circumstances which induces us to suspect that this Messiah-party was regularly organized, and had a conference (to borrow from our methodists the designation of a parallel, oligarchic, over-ruling synod) habitually sitting in Jerusalem, and employing about seventy itinerant preachers. Within this party *pure christianity* had its first germ. Among the adherents of this sect are found the primitive converts to that revolution of opinion, which substituted the hope of a spiritual kingdom, a dominion not of this world, to the previously prevailing hope of a temporal monarchy; which taught that the redemption of souls, not that of the living Israelites, was the office of the Messiah; and which proclaimed that the Christ was no longer to be expected, but was already come in the person of Jesus. This spiritualization of the old faith was calculated to draw off the quiet, the prudent, the orderly, the virtuous, and the despairing members of the party, and to leave the turbulent, the rebellious, and the unprincipled, to the natural consequences of their violence. This moral revolution was highly useful and meritorious; it was begun and it was completed by the effect of the discourses of Jesus.

Some tincture of the traditional opinions of this Messiah-party may be traced in the canonical gospel writers. The announcement of a Messiah, and of the kingdom of God among men, is the cardinal point of their zeal, the pivot and the

spring of their whole narration. No particulars of the life of Jesus, but what related to this end, were, in the first instance, thought worthy of being narrated. Nor is John the Baptist, characterized any farther than as the harbinger of the Messiah.

Professor Paulus draws, from the abrupt commencement of the narrative of the mission, an inference that it is copied, with little change, from the middle of some antecedent book, some life, no doubt, of John. But he observes, that Luke, in his chronological introduction, appears not to have been accurately informed respecting, or sufficiently attentive to, the general history of Judea. Lysanias (iii. 2.) was no longer tetrarch of Abilene, but had been murdered many years before; and there is no opportunity afforded by Josephus for inferring that another Lysanias occupied his place. Annas and Caiaphas were not high-priests in the same year.

On the subject of baptism, much rabbinical learning is displayed. Boys were named at the time of circumcision; at the time of naming girls, a partial baptism was (p. 281) the Pharisaic ritual. Hence probably our form of baptizing children. Adult baptism was, in the opinion of the professor, not borrowed from any previously habitual form of receiving proselytes among the Jews: but was first introduced by John the Baptist, as a public pledge in the convert that he would from that time observe a virtuous and pure course of life. This adult baptism was never conferred on women. The baptism of Jesus took place after the 19th August, of the 28th year of the Dionysiac, or vulgar, era.

In a note to the 15th verse of the third chapter of Luke, the question is discussed, whether certain zealous disciples of John had not, for a time, mistaken him for the Christ, and proclaimed him accordingly. From the recognitions of the Pseudo-Clemens a passage is adduced; *Sed et ex discipulis Johannis, qui videbantur esse magni, segregarunt se a populo, et magistrum suum, veluti Christum, predicarunt*: and afterwards a disciple of John is introduced *qui affirmabat Christum Johannem fuisse, et non Jesum*. We think that the professor undervalues this hint. If the gospel concerning John were drawn up by a zealous disciple of this kind (and is not this most likely?) it would contain many applications of scriptural passages respecting the Messiah to John. These applications would afterwards be found irreconcilable with similar applications of the same, or of like passages to Jesus. Hence the Christian church might find it expedient to put an end to the use of the gospel concerning John; and this furnishes an obvious reason for the disappearance of the document.

The fifteenth section investigates the phenomena, which accompanied the baptism of Jesus; and discusses conjointly

Matthew iii. 13—17, Mark i. 9—11, and Luke iii. 21—22. The paraphrase runs thus :

‘As so many had been consecrated for the approaching kingdom of God, by the baptismal symbol of purification, Jesus also departs from Nazareth to the Baptist, who had already many Galilean disciples. John i. 35—45. John already knew so much of his kinsman Jesus, that he does not keep back his personal conviction, that he himself ought rather to apply to Jesus for consecration than to confer it on him ; although John did not yet definitely acknowledge Jesus for the holiest of all, (*ἁγιος τῶ θεοῦ*) for the Messiah.

‘The transcendant merit of Jesus was therefore already recognised among his relations. What concert was it between two young energetic men, which could have induced the elder, the more impetuous, the more austere, the Judæan, the son of a priest, to make himself subordinate to the younger, the milder, the more reserved, the Galilean, the layman ? Was it not the intellectual superiority of Jesus, which was too palpable not to be seen ? John evinced no common magnanimity in becoming the inferior associate of the greater man, for the more effectual accomplishment of their common patriotic views.

‘It is on this very occasion too that Jesus appears on the highest step of disinterested self-appreciation. Often as he must have heard from his parents, that he was born to be the Messiah ; much as had occurred to encourage his confidence in the truth of the assertion ; such as the uncommon faculties of his mind, the early maturity of his genius, his sublime thoughts, his comprehensive views, the wonderful combination of the most delicate sensibility with the most heroic firmness—his devout acquiescence in all that is morally fit, his cheerful, his sympathetic humanity, his popular courtesy of demeanour, and the singular union of these talents and graces, with such transcendant sanative powers as are historically inscrutable. Though all this seemed to invite him to assume the character of Messiah, his self-esteem is so small, he is so lowly in heart as to avoid every the slightest suspicion of presumption, and of haste in adopting a title, which was the highest to which any Jew could raise his projects or his hopes ; a title which implied that he was the envoy of Jehovah, and the chosen saviour of the nation. So true is it, that though already approaching the purity of the divine nature he did not eagerly grasp at the resemblance to God. Compare Phil. ii. 6. with John v. 18. It becomes him and his worthy harbinger thus to fulfil all that ceremonial or moral righteousness could require. Matthew iii. 15. He offers himself therefore to receive the form of consecration for the divine kingdom : and on this occasion it was to appear, whether the Deity would vouchsafe any decisive intimation of his Messiahship.

‘Full of these sublime expectations, and already worthy of the supreme place in that future kingdom, by this very proof of his religious humility and self-denial—he descends into the waves of the

Jordan. His head is dipped under the water, and when he lifts it up again in devout contemplation (*προσευχόμενος*) the serenity of the clear open sky beams on his countenance, and a dove, distinctly visible, (*σωματικῶς ἰδὲν*) inclines towards him from above.

‘To such *symbolic language of-the godhead* all the prophets were accustomed. They heard not indeed in words, but in signs, to which circumstances furnished the interpretation, and in which a pious heart placed unshaken confidence, whether what they had devoutly sought was really the will of Him, without whom no sparrow falls to the ground, and no dove moves her wings in the air. Jesus knew what he had asked. To him after profoundly meditating on what he had seen—to him, the Lord of nature had now given an answer by a living symbol. What a decisive moment for Jesus! At length he had received a confirmation of the hope which had been indulged for thirty years, yet never proclaimed with juvenile presumption. At this moment—who that can feel, would subtilize in physical or psychologic distinctions? at this moment, heaven proclaims, all surrounding nature proclaims, to Jesus, with the voice of God: Thou art he! This is he! The heir of the kingdom! The beloved son!

‘The great question is now determined! For the rest of his life, Jesus remains certain, both in weal or in woe, that he is internally and externally, the declared Messiah of God. This conviction, this certainty, pervades his confidential friends, when they perceive that it had been caught by the Baptist himself. Upon this unquestioned persuasion it eventually depended, whether the doctrine of a crucified unfortunate should overthrow judaism and heathenism, and bow before it the thrones of sovereigns and the theories of philosophy. The fate of worlds hangs on instants. But what is the signal for the conquest of worlds, but a courageous, undoubting reliance on the will of the Supreme Being? *καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἡ νικησάσα τὸν κόσμον, ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν.* 1 John v. 5. Compare John xvi. 13.’

In the notes attached to particular verses of this segment, professor Paulus more minutely vindicates his peculiar theory of this incident.

‘The *inference*,’ says he, ‘in one place, that the spirit of God became visible in the form of a dove, is in all the three evangelical historians exhibited as a *fact*, and so as to precede the relation of the visible appearance. But, in order to designate the real order of the event, it should first be stated that Jesus saw something like a dove; and next that he judged, inferred, or became certain, that it betokened the spirit of God. That which men think about an event is more important, and even more certain, than the visible part of the event itself. The internal experience makes a deeper trace in the memory, than the cotemporary external experience. Hence, imperceptibly to themselves, they often assign the foremost station to their own inference. Jesus *saw*, what, strictly speaking, he *saw only in his own inference*, the spirit of God.’



And then follows the description of what had been really visible, the inclination toward him of a hovering dove. Luke is anxious to exclude the idea of a real dove; according to him, it had only the *bodily form* of one; but neither he, nor any person, who could not know whether it were tangible, can bear testimony to its immaterial existence. The phenomenon appeared like a dove; in this all the evangelists are agreed, as well as the Baptist (John i. 32.) That it was a mere phantasm is again an inference; natural enough indeed among Jews, who thought that Jehovah was in the habit of commissioning his spirits to assume temporary forms, which, when they had effected their purpose, were again laid aside.

Many historic anecdotes are cited from the Greek and Latin writers, in which similar omens were analogously interpreted. A fortunate illustration is the consecration of Romulus, as described by Ennius.

*Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux  
Et simul ex altis longe pulcherrima præpes  
Læva volavit avis; simul aureus exoritur sol.*

Elegant passages from the poets describing the *heavens opening*, as it was phrased, or depicting the flight of doves, are produced in luxuriant abundance. Buffon, Fischer, and other natural historians, and topographers, are called in; and at length it is inferred that the *columba gyratrix*, or *paloma volteadora* of the Spaniards, is the sort of pigeon, whose habits of flight accord best with the description of the evangelists.

This whole chapter seems to be happily laboured; we shall leave it to theologues by profession to determine whether it be entirely satisfactory. While the conflict lasts, between the ancient regard for the former exposition, and a hesitating fondness for the proposed substitution; the oscillation of doubt cannot but be felt. But it is probable that this will become, among ecclesiastics,\* the prevailing form of expounding the passage; at least among such, as are inclined to question the personality, or materiality, of the holy spirit.

The sixteenth section analyzes the narrative of the temptation, and expounds the whole as an ecstasy, a dream, a vision, which passed only in the mind, or imagination, of Jesus. As this plan of explanation is current in our own literature, it may be conveniently passed over.

The seventeenth section comments on Luke iv. 14—30; and here we find nothing very new.

The eighteenth section respects Matthew iv. 12—17, and Mark i. 14—15. *Minutiae* of order in the incidents are here,

\* The editors of the improved version in a superfluous note to John v. 38, very inconsistently admit the appearance of the spirit in a *corporeal form*; which, according to their views, is like admitting that *fear* could assume the form of a hare, or *courage* that of a lion.

as in the preceding section, curiously ascertained. The observation occurs that Matthew, a Galilæan, willingly dwells on what passed in Galilee; and that John, a Jerusalemite, willingly dwells on what passed at Jerusalem. Pliny's description of the lake of Tiberias is corrected by the gospels.

The five sections numbered xix. to xxiii. are intimately connected with each other; and relate instances of the great popularity which attended Jesus, after he had taken up his residence at Capernaum. According to the Mosaic institutions, the practice of medicine was a part of the office of a priest. The Essenes especially cultivated this branch of science, and were in high repute among the country people, as successful practitioners. In some *Midrash*, or convent-school of the Essenes, professor Paulus thinks it probable that Jesus had received his elementary education. Whether he completed this discipline at Alexandria is unknown; but, as the metaphysical opinions, which are advanced in the gospel and epistles of John, have much affinity with those of Philo-Judæus, the author says that it is probable that the instructor of John had availed himself of the lights of Ægyptian erudition. To great accomplishments of science the superstitious vulgar have often attributed a sort of magical power; and being ignorant of the limits of nature, have often described the sensible operations of human skill, in such a manner as favours the suspicion of supernatural agency. If, to acquired arts of healing, was superadded the opinion of that holy efficacy, which had attended the prophets of old, whose mere presence was believed incompatible with the activity of evil spirits and pernicious dæmons, a faith in the wholesome influence of the man of God might rise to enthusiastic vehemence, and produce all the medical effects of confidence in a tenfold degree greater than is possible where the scepticisms of rationality are entertained. Some of the cures, especially those of paralytic and demoniacal affections, may, according to the professor, be accounted for in this way; those of the latter class, which are very numerous, are peculiarly likely to yield, for a time at least, to strong mental impressions. But there are instances, which, if not exaggerated in the narration, are incapable of solution by the same causes. Such are the instantaneous cures of inveterate dumbness and blindness: long habits of experience are necessary to associate with the sound of words their respective meanings, and with the hue and shape of objects their respective distances. If the organic defect had been removed, the mind would still have years of apprenticeship to serve. There are no unequivocal symptoms of concert and arrangement: the cures are not confined to avowed friends, whose concurrence might be conciliated; or to indigent strangers, whose conspiracy might be purchased. The same effects every where follow the arrival of the physician: nor has a partial selection been made of the lucky cases

only ; for a comparative failure (Mark vi. 5.) is as honestly recorded as a triumphant accomplishment. Professor Paulus however observes, that Peter's mother-in-law does not appear to have been ill, when the physician arrived, or he would have been then called in. She falls very sick, while they are in the synagogue, and is soon after with much publicity restored.

Some interstices are indicated in the narration. As Jesus was coming from Cana along the road to Capernaum, he meets four fishermen, who according to John's Gospel, were, by no means, so unknown to him, as from the narrations of Matthew and Mark would be inferred. They were not merely Galileans, living in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, but were long since disciples of John, and had been present at the baptism of Jesus. Probably they had accompanied him to the passover at Jerusalem, where he had disciples with him (John ii. 17 and 23). Numberless minute particulars of this kind are evolved with such curious care as in a manner to diminish the marvellousness of that sudden ascendancy which was apparently exerted over several individuals. It is surprizing that a narration in Luke (v. 1—11), which is strongly marked by idiosyncrasy should be peculiar to a gospel-writer, who was not a party concerned.

Before professor Paulus proceeds to the twenty-fourth section, he inserts a most elaborate dissertation, on the chronological order of the incidents which intervened between the first passover after the baptism, and the second passover; for he is among those who assign the greatest length to the duration of the ministry of Christ. These incidents are about thirty in number; they are placed in a different order by different evangelists, whence it may be presumed, that one narrative is derived from an *apomnemoneuma* made in Galilee, another from notes taken in Judæa, and that one evangelist classed his memorandums by their topics, and another by their sources. Matthew is more copious in his accounts of the discourses of Jesus, than Mark or Luke, which renders it probable that he himself was accustomed to note down the most remarkable sayings of Jesus on distinguished occasions, and that the possession of this gnomology, or collection of the sentiments of Jesus, led him to compose a third gospel.

The order here assigned to the successive parts of the progress is this. 1. The return home from the first passover after the baptism. 2. Journey about seed-time into the country in Judæa. 3. Return in winter through Samaria to Galilee. The anecdotes are then severally attached to the different parts of the progress; and are discussed in twenty-one sections numbered xxiv. to xlv.

In a note to Matthew viii. 21,—22, professor Paulus understands the passage; 'suffer me to *stay* and bury my father,'

that is, to remain at home until I shall become my own master ; my father being yet living. To this indefinite procrastination an answer is given which partakes both of the serious and jocose. ' There are persons enough who are *dead* to my doctrine, leave it to them to linger and bury their *dead*.' This and other passages, adds Professor Paulus, must appear strange to those, who picture Jesus as a solemn dogmatist, who spoke only words of a pound weight ; the convivial gaiety of his character, as he himself represents it, (Matthew xi. 19, and Luke vii. 34) is often seen in an endeavour to excite agreeable emotions and pleasurable trains of thought.

The twenty-sixth section explains the storm described Matthew viii. 23—27, Mark iv. 36—40, and Luke viii. 22—25. The paraphrase runs thus :

' As they were crossing to the opposite coast, accompanied by many boats which were hired by the admirers of Jesus, a sudden gust fell upon the lake, and a concussion (Matthew) perhaps the result of an earthquake, was felt, during which the boats were covered or filled with water : whilst he, tired of preaching, was fallen asleep on a bolster. ' It is only because he sleeps that misfortune befalls us : ' think the good people. They awaken him. ' The holy man will be able to help us ; ' such is the natural hope of persons in danger. Jesus requires, from all, courage and confidence, for pusillanimity, *ολιγοπιστια*, is the precursor of destruction, it prevents all practicable remedy. With a presence of mind resembling that of Cæsar, he asks the pilot ? ' How can you be so faint-hearted ! do you not carry the Messiah ?

' Nor had he been long awake, long attentive to the vehemence of the wind, before he drew the inference and expressed it, that it would soon be over. On lakes, and in sultry atmospheres, especially where the contiguous district is mountainous, such tempests are of very confined and fugitive operation. This was speedily at an end. Those, who had escaped, agitated between terror and astonishment, ascribed their preservation to the happy consequences of the presence of Jesus. ' Even the storms, even the waves, not merely the *kakodæmons*, give way before him.' Thus they whisper to one another. That Jesus knew, or that he approved, *the inference*, is no where stated.'

In this way, as if he were restoring epic poetry to the basis of history, professor Paulus endeavours to resolve the marvellous turns of the narration into inferences of the bystanders. In the twenty-seventh section he considers the history of the Gerasene (not Gergesene, as is most learnedly demonstrated (p. 495) ; this prevalent spelling having grown out of an erroneous conjecture of Origen) demoniac ; and explains it as a case of insanity, in which the madman, believing himself

possessed, puts himself in the place of the imaginary kakodæmon, and stipulates that his superfluous soul may transmigrate into some other frame. It is shown that the narrative of Matthew, who introduces two Gerasene demoniacs, must be inaccurate; and that the narration of Mark, who introduces only one, is to be preferred. Two distinct insane persons would not have concurred in attaching confidence to so singular a mode of cure, as that which the unfortunate man requests. Jesus let the madman hunt the swine, as a mean of assisting his imagination to believe itself dispossessed, but did not design that they should perish in the lake.

The twenty-ninth section analyzes the cure of a paralytic, described Matthew ix. 1—8, Mark ii. 1—12, and Luke v. 17—26. Professor Paulus compares this incident with various modern facts; as *relation véritable de la guérison miraculeuse de Marie Maillard : Amsterdam 1694*. This was the daughter of a blacksmith; she was born in 1680, and limped from the time she began to walk. The disease appeared to be seated in the left hip, which exhibited a hollowness; afterwards a swelling appeared above the *cavitas ischii*.

The growth of her left thigh did not keep pace with that of the right, but at twelve years of age was four inches shorter than the other; the knee of the same leg was thicker and the ankle crooked. The parents, who were calvinistic refugees from France, consulted eminent surgeons at Lausanne, where they had resided some years, and afterwards at Amsterdam, where they finally settled. The medical men gave it as their opinion that no cure was practicable. Debat was one of the more famous surgeons to whom they applied; he ordered friction with oils, but in vain. Things continued in this state until the 26th November 1693, on which day as the young person was walking to the French protestant church, some Dutch boys in the street loudly ridiculed her limping, and mimicked it. The second chapter of Mark was the lesson of the day, and this story of the paralytic made a very strong impression on the girl. She said to her mother as she came back: 'I am sure, mother, I should not want faith if such a thing were to happen to me.' While the mother was giving her a consoling answer, she felt a great pain, and a disposition to stretch out her leg, and while she heard it crack, a voice seemed to say to her: 'thy faith hath made thee whole.' From that time forward she could walk like other people, though with some remains of debility; the ankle became straight and the knee lost its swelling, and the thigh acquired the length of the other. This fact is indubitably attested, as well by medical men as by the pastor.

Another fact is produced from the archives of the Lutheran church in the duchy of Wurtemberg *Leonbergæ, oppido Wurtembergico, patrum memoriâ, mulier ita membris capta, ut*



*fulcris vix spithamæis reperet, dum decanus pro suggestu miraculosam vim nominis Jesu tractaret, repente erecta est.* This case though not medically described is not less satisfactorily attested than the preceding. Professor Paulus concludes as if he had recently been reading the case of Winifred White :

‘ Thus from every country, and from every religious communion, some contributions to a thaumatology, some unexplained wonders can be collected which prove that unexpectedly rapid excitements of long interrupted corporeal functions have occasionally occurred in all countries and at all times.’

What has Dr. Isaac Milner to oppose to these calvinistic and Lutheran miracles? We advise the Socinians to keep a good look out for some of these special interpositions, so testificatory of the faith of the communities in which they occur.

In the thirty-first section the case of the hemorrhoidal woman is admirably explained. It is related in Mark v. 22—35. The professor considers it as an unworthy and unfounded idea, that the garments of Jesus possessed a power of curing diseases, independently of his knowledge or volition; yet some commentators have deduced such an opinion from the thirtieth verse. This supposed power, professor Paulus resolves into an inference of the by-standers, which afterwards became a part of the narration. He compares the account given of this incident in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. liv. viii. c. 18) on the authority of a tradition which was preserved by a public monument, erected at Cesarea Philippi, by the gratitude of this lady, who was a heathen of that city. The monument represented a woman pulling the cloak of a Jew rabbi, in an attitude of asking relief. He points out to her a plant distinctly sculptured on the pedestal, and rising above his feet, up to the border of the diplois, or mantle, in which he was clad. Professor Paulus infers, that the confidence of the woman in her physician had, in the first instance occasioned a constriction of the relaxed blood vessels; and that this recovered state was perpetuated by the use of some specific vegetable prescription. It does not appear that this lady embraced the religion of Jesus, or was invited by him to do so; on the contrary the character of the monument implies that she continued to be a Pagan, and proves that she was in opulent circumstances; it also shews that her benevolence was intent on transmitting to posterity a knowledge of the medicine by which she had been saved.

In a note (p. 583) to Mark v. 40, professor Paulus complains of certain commentators for maintaining the opinion of the Jewish vulgar, in opposition to the declared opinion of Jesus; the authority of Jesus himself is to give way when hostile to a marvellous interpretation!!!

In a note (p. 673) the word Gehenna is derived from the old Persian; the professor thinks both the word and the idea

to have been brought from Babylon, after the captivity ; the Mosaic religion ' includes no such place of doom.'

In the thirty-seventh section the curious observation occurs, that Luke (influenced probably by his attachment for Paul, who valued, and in some degree imitated, in the solemn austerity of his own precepts and manners, the Pharisaic sect) has often omitted the anti-pharisaic allusions and directions in the speeches of Jesus, who held exterior severity in aversion. We may select instances in Matthew v. 17—43, and vi. 1—13.

Section thirty-nine contains learned remarks upon the police of leprosy ; the office of ordering an infectious person into *quarantine* was devolved upon the high priest, as well as that of terminating his social exile. Under the name leprosy the Jews confounded several transient cutaneous disorders analogous to small-pox, and some chronic distempers which result from the vices of the east. The case of the leper (Matthew viii. 3.) was, in the professor's opinion, one, where the disease had attained that maturity at which it ceases to be infectious. The language of Jesus therefore means : ' as far as the physician may permit, I do permit you to return into society ; but go and show yourself to the priest, and obtain a legal permission.' The priest having confirmed the opinion of the physician, the man was legally cleansed.

The fortieth section compares Matthew viii. 5.—13. with Luke vii. 1.—10. Matthew puts into the mouth of the centurion himself, what according to Luke was a message transmitted by others. The maxim '*quod quis per alium facit, &c.*' is quite sufficient to account for a variation, which hardly amounts to a dissonance ; still it is of some consequence to the critic to *know*, that these writers are not restricted by the anxious niceties of historical precision, by any scrupulosities of accuracy in the minutiae of events ; and that they sometimes describe that as done by a person himself which he employed others to do for him. So again Mark x. 35, assigns an enquiry to the sons of Zebedee, which Matthew xx. 20. refers to their mother. Professor Paulus expounds the message of the centurion to mean, that Jesus needed not to come in person, but might send one of his pupils. On this occasion, if our narratives are complete, Jesus for the first time did not go in person to see the sick slave, but sent deputies, who were no doubt some of the twelve. Their visit brought a good omen.

The forty-first section relates to the widow's son at Nain. Curious facts are stated concerning the premature burials so customary among the modern as well as the ancient jews. Thierry, and all the late writers are quoted on the subject. Among the more recondite sources of analogical information here laid under contribution is the Arabic physician Abu-Oseiba. In

his Vitæ celebr. Medicorum (c. xiv. s. 3.) this anecdote occurs. *De medico, qui funeri obitum factus inclamavit, eum vivere qui efferebatur, reddiditque ei vitam. Rogatus causam conjecturæ, dixit, id se collegisse ex situ jucentis, non enim eum habuisse cura in directum porrecta, sed reducta versus femora.* Celsus de re medicâ (lib. 2. c. 6.) is also quoted, *quosdam fama prodidit in ipsis funeribus revixisse.* . . . . *Asclepiades funeri obviu intellexit eum vivere qui efferebatur.* The erudite industry, and the comprehensive grasp, with which the literature of the world is thus ransacked for parallelisms to every individual miracle is truly astonishing; yet, if each particular case could be paired with one similar, how would this account for the extraordinary accumulation of such cases in the practice of a given individual?

The forty-third section is interesting; and throws great light on the civil history of Judæa. It respects Matthew xi. 2—19, and Luke vii. 18—35. Jesus had directed his progress toward Machærus, evidently for the purpose of holding some communication with his friend and kinsman John the Baptist, who was imprisoned in that fortress. To John his own confinement was naturally become irksome; and the longer it lasted, the more reason he had to fear that it would ultimately terminate not in pardon, but in punishment. The disciples, whom he deputed to Jesus, complain, therefore, of the delay of the latter in declaring himself to be the Messiah. It is not stated that any seditious movements, the object of which was the rescue of John, resulted from these communications. On the contrary, the answer of Jesus (Matthew xi. 6 :) "Happy whosoever shall not offend because of me:" rather tended to repress the interference of his own followers. Yet, as Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, appears from this time to have attached herself, probably as a spy to the devout bevy which surrounded Jesus; there is room to suppose that tumultuous movements of the people, were apprehended. And as the daughter of Herodias, famed for her skill in the dance, asked soon after this for the head of John,—which must have been done as a demonstration of her loyalty, rather than her cruelty, it is evident that the spies had excited the alarm of an insurrection. The candour of Professor Paulus makes the conduct of Jesus on this occasion, as on all others, the subject of the most elaborate analysis and the most cordial approbation.

It is the cause of mankind in which he is engaged (John xii. 27,) rather than that of his friend, or of himself, which occupies his thoughts; and interests his soul. The most difficult of the virtues, self-immolation, was his, in a higher degree than was ever before, or has been ever since, exemplified in the history of man.

In our judgment, the forty-fourth section is the most carelessly

finished of any in the first volume. It comments on Luke vii. 36—50, in which is contained the relation of a dinner given by Simon the Pharisee to Jesus.

Professor Paulus first endeavours to show that this Simon the Pharisee is a different person from Simon the leper, whose hospitable reception of Jesus is described in Matthew xxvi. 6—13, and in Mark xiv. 3—9. His chief argument is that Simon the Pharisee dwelt *εν τη πολει* (v. 37.) whereas Simon the leper resided in Bethany. But *εν τη πολει* does not necessarily mean *in Jerusalem*; it may as fitly be construed *in the town, in that place*. Now the sister of Lazarus (John xi. 1 and 2,) of whom this expression is used, did reside in Bethany. It follows that Simon the Pharisee resided in Bethany. And surely it is impossible that the very unusual incident of a woman bursting into a dining-room, in order to clasp the feet of Jesus, and perfume him with nard, should have occurred on two different occasions. Professor Paulus further says that there is no authority for calling this fair penitent by the name of Mary; but he forgets the express authority of John. The catholic tradition that this Mary is the same with Mary the Magdalene, cannot perhaps be absolutely proved from scripture; but is on every account highly probable. Lazarus might well be a Galilaean of Magdala.

Professor Paulus conjectures that this dinner in Bethany, at the house of Simon, had an important influence on the fortunes of Jesus; because all the evangelists seem particularly solicitous to preserve this single and solitary anecdote, respecting the stay of Jesus at Jerusalem, during the *second* passover after the baptism. He asks: was this proud pharisee offended by the expostulation of Jesus, and did he from that time labour to excite that Pharisaic persecution, to which Jesus fell a victim?

It appears to us that the story of this feast is inserted, not for the part which Simon, but for that which Mary took on the occasion. Her heart-felt sentiment of warm and affectionate veneration, is admirably portrayed.—We shall not state an inference which has been drawn from the expression which Mary employs when she asks for the supposed defunct. (John xx. v. 13.)

In a note to the forty-eighth verse, the doctrine of forgiving sins is curiously discussed. Many diseases originate in the abuse of the bodily organs, in intemperate and improvident sensuality. Such diseases, and indeed many others which ought to have been exempt from reproach, were considered by the Jews as punishments for sin, inflicted by the special interposition of the Almighty. Until the cause of these diseases was removed, until, in their phraseology, their sins were forgiven, they considered the forms of penitence, and the prac-

tices of expiation to become them. The physician prayed with his patients ; and his assurance that the sin is forgiven, that the cause of the malady is removed, constituted a duty of his profession, a rule of his art, for removing apprehension, for restoring hope, and accelerating recovery.

The forty-fifth section analyzes Luke viii. 1—3, which describes the return of Jesus into Galilee, after having attended the second passover subsequent to his baptism. Professor Paulus is laudably anxious to remove, what, in our manners, and in the manners of the east, might be thought indelicate, in this social journeying of so many young disciples with so many young women, some of whom (to borrow the equivocal term of the received version,) were *sinner*s. A description is undertaken of those caravans, (called *συνωδιαί*, Luke ii. 44.) which went from the provinces to the paschal fair, and returned at the expiration of the festival. 'It was thought,' says the professor, 'that rabbies were above many punctilios of decorum, to which less holy men would have paid deference.'

This forms the concluding chapter of the first volume. If we have been less minutely particular in the analysis of the latter than of the former sections, it is not to be attributed to any weariness in the perusal, or to any impatience of toil, so much as to the circumstance, that they bear a closer resemblance in the turn of explanation, than the incipient sections. There is the same endeavour in all to ascertain, by a minute comparison of the several narrations, the precise natural fact in which all the observers are agreed ; and to separate from this basis of description, whatever, was only the inference of the bystander, or the comment of the narrator. 'Such inferences,' Professor Paulus somewhere says,

'A man who is living now, is as much entitled to draw for himself, as a man living then, and it may happen that his knowledge of nature being more extensive, and his range of comparison, owing to that and to the accumulations of subsequent experience, more comprehensive—he may be capable of drawing inferences which are more correct.'

The value of these latter sections, as far as respects the chronological arrangement of the anecdotes, and, in a few cases, the circumstances of the incidents themselves, is somewhat diminished by one strong theoretical prepossession. Professor Paulus has become convinced that the narration of Mark is wholly derived from the gospels of Luke and of Matthew, is subsequent to them, and of inferior authority. Hence he pays less deference to the testimony of Mark. Notwithstanding what Eichhorn, what Griesbach, and what our learned countryman Herbert Marsh, have published on this subject, we



still deem it right to suspend our acquiescence in this *marked* depreciation.

The dissertation of Griesbach in the *Commentationes Theologicæ* fully proves, that all Mark, except about a score of verses, is contained verbatim in Luke or in Matthew. But this phenomenon admits of an easy solution, on an hypothesis diametrically opposite to that of Griesbach.—Why should we not suppose the gospel of Mark to be first composed; that Luke had the use of Mark; and that Matthew had the use both of Mark and Luke, and systematically transcribed into his own gospel, whatever Luke had omitted to relate? This is Mr. Herbert Marsh's *sixth* case (*Origin of the three first gospels*, p. 5.) and, as far as we have yet proceeded in our investigation, solves all the phenomena with simplicity and ease.

Eichhorn is very unfriendly to the opinion (*Kritische Schriften* vol. v. p. 558) that Mark had the assistance of Peter in the composition of his gospel. Yet Mark was certainly in the society of Peter at an early period (Acts xii. 11—13) and Peter carried about with him a gospel (1 Peter i. 12) which opened with the descent of the Holy Ghost. Now the gospel which is called after Mark, does in fact begin with the baptism of John; and is therefore likely to be a Greek translation of the vernacular gospel, which was drawn up by Peter. The success of this original vernacular gospel, among the baptists of Galilee and Judæa, accounts for the curiosity of the Jews of Antioch, which according to Storr, stimulated the translation of Mark; and for that of the Jews of Alexandria, which, according to Paulus, occasioned the more complete redaction of Luke. A strong argument for imputing to Peter the vernacular original of Mark, may be drawn from a comparison of the twelve first chapters of the Acts of the Apostles with the gospel of Mark. A most analogous character of sentiment and of narration pervades both. Now these Acts of Peter must have originated with himself.

If therefore we were critically to re-examine, the arrangement of incident, and the selection of circumstance, preferred by professor Paulus, we should, in all cases of collision, ascribe an originality and authenticity to the record of Mark, which we should assign, but in a secondary degree, to the more literate labours of Matthew, and of Luke. We should MARKIZE in our narration. We should be persuaded that the primary source of the evangelical biographies, the original gospel of the Hebrews, lay before us, unaltered in Mark, translated with conscientious fidelity, and with the knowledge and approbation of Peter, its first author, who for that reason was truly called the foundation-stone, on which the church of Christ was to be built.

As this work of professor Paulus is too extensive speedily to find a translator, we shall continue to expatiate upon it in considerable detail, persuaded that our theological readers, if occasionally startled by his heroic freedom of opinion, will still be glad to learn what progress biblical criticism is making, among the most enlightened scholars of the continent. Even those persons who are most willing to confound liberal with licentious opinions, to put an extinguisher on the torch of truth, and by pains and penalties to repress the ardour of rational inquiry, may be essentially benefited by the information.—It may serve to abate their propensity to intolerance by showing them *where* a breach is most practicable in the walls of the temple of faith; it may contribute to this important conclusion that whatever may become of subordinate points of belief, the MORAL DOCTRINE OF CHRIST which is in strict unison with the moral government of God, is that which *alone is requisite* to improve, to perfect, and to perpetuate our social system, and our political institutions.

In the present critique we have candidly stated the novel opinions, or carefully epitomized the scriptural expositions of the most learned theologues which Germany can boast. We have comparatively inserted but little matter of our own.—And we think that we may fairly lay claim to the gratitude of all our English divines of every denomination, for furnishing them with such ample materials for theological discussion, such powerful incitements to fresh vigour of intellectual industry, and a more comprehensive scheme of biblical research.

ART. II.—*Leontine de Blondheim*. Par Auguste de Kotzebue. Traduit de l'Allemand, avec Notes, Par H. L. C. 3 Tomes. 12mo. Dulau. 1808.

THE heroine of this tale is the only child of the old Count de Blondheim, an Esthonian nobleman. She is, of course, all that is amiable and attractive; but her most distinguishing quality is the affection which she bears her father, for whose happiness alone she appears conscious of existing. Moreover she possesses excellent sense, and has received the best of education from a Mademoiselle Warning, who had lived in the family ever since the death of Leontine's mother, and who, at the commencement of the novel has just quitted it to become the wife of a Mr. Lindau. This proves to be a every unfortunate circumstance for Leontine, who has but just attained her fourteenth year, and in spite of her beauty and accomplishments, knows nothing

of the world, and is a mere child (as well she may be) in the science of human characters. At this critical period, an old plotting aunt, a sister of her father's, arrives on a visit at the castle of Hullida, and fixes her eyes on Leontine, whom, as a rich heiress, she immediately determines to be the fittest instrument for restoring the fortunes of her family, shattered by her own extravagant pride, and by the follies and vices of a debauched son. Accordingly Major Arlhoff is sent for from Petersburg, and being acquainted with his mother's intentions, lays close siege to the heart of the simple Leontine. This Major Arlhoff is a mere Russian bear, a man totally devoid of principle and feeling, narrow-minded and ignorant, addicted to no one honest pursuit except hunting, and abandoned to the lowest and most profligate debaucheries, which have ruined his character and greatly impaired his health. He is moreover forty years of age, and vastly ugly, although vain of his personal attractions.

A common plotmaker may imagine that Madame Arlhoff would have acted more wisely in keeping this monster out of sight till it became absolutely necessary to bring him forward as the husband of Leontine, especially since in the opinion of all parties, it was of little importance that any real attachment should precede the marriage-ceremony. A vulgar observer of nature may conceive that a girl of fourteen, gifted with the sense of Leontine, and fortified as she was by the excellent instructions of a very intelligent woman, might (without having seen much of the world) be apt to entertain some disgust or some feeling of repugnance for such a lump of iniquity. A general reader, ungifted with the German power of setting all contradictions at defiance, may think it probable that the old Count de Blondheim, a man of the world, a man of honour and probity, a man passionately fond of an only child, whose welfare had been recommended to him with the last tears of a wife tenderly beloved, might not have listened very readily to a proposal for bestowing her on one of whose moral character he knew nothing, whose mind he could not but perceive to be contemptible, and whose circumstances he was well aware to be at best far below what he might reasonably expect for his daughter. Nevertheless this grave old man, this experienced courtier, this doting father, has not the slightest objection to offer when Madame Arlhoff proposes the union, but very good-naturedly assures her of his consent provided she can obtain the acquiescence of Leontine. The interested match-maker, (as may be expected) oversteps the bounds of her commission, and fixes the determination of Leontine (which there appears even otherwise to have been no reason for her to despair of obtaining) by telling her that her father's happiness really depends upon her accepting

the major, although he has too much delicacy to exert the slightest influence over her resolution by any interference of his own. Upon this intimation, Leontine, nothing doubting, declares her readiness to become the wife of Arlhoff; and, so impatient is she to oblige her dear papa, that he can hardly persuade her to wait a little longer and see whether her mind may not change upon a further view of the world. The proposal of this ordeal puts Madam Arlhoff, as may be imagined, to a sad perplexity and we must confess, we were rather surprised ourselves, seeing how very smoothly all things had gone on in her favour, that any delay or impediment should be started at so late a stage of the negotiation. Papa, however, is resolved on the experiment, and sets off for the annual assembly of the states at Revel, accompanied by his daughter and her amiable betrothed. Here Leontine makes her entrance into the world, and dances about at every ball, waltzing it and rigadooning it with half the young noblemen of Esthonia, not one of whom has sufficient charms to make her waver in her resolution. One Captain Wallerstein indeed, appears to her very amiable, especially when he begins to be rather particular in his attentions to her: but being informed that he is a 'Jacobin,' (a term which, although profoundly ignorant of its meaning, she readily conceives to include every thing that is diabolical in the human character) she ceases to view him any longer but with abhorrence, and very soon after her return to Hullida, bestows the hand long promised upon Arlhoff.

Meanwhile it should be observed that good Madame Lindau, hearing of the intended match, has written a letter to old Blondheim, stating some very sage and matronly reasons why it is not altogether wise to throw away a simple heiress of fourteen upon an old impoverished rake of forty. The count looks grave upon this advice for a day or two, calls Leontine into his closet, and requests her to say (ere it is too late) whether her mind is altogether made up on the subject. But Miss not having found all this time the least reason for altering it, her father asks no farther questions, and Madame Lindau's advice is laid by on the shelf. The castle of Lindholm having been settled on Leontine by the marriage articles, the bride and bridegroom resort thither soon after the ceremony, and there for two or three years they reside together in uninterrupted peace and harmony. We hear no more of Arlhoff's debaucheries, except the very delicate information, as delicately expressed, that the consequences of those to which he had devoted himself before marriage, become prejudicial to the health of his wife, and prevent her from having children; as to every thing else, *he* appears to be uniformly well-behaved and domesticated, having entirely resigned all his old employments (except that

of hunting) and substituting a quiet game at piquet in the evening to the pipe or bottle—and *she* is just as comfortable as a vegetable can well be, having nothing (except her ill state of health) to make her uneasy, and nothing (except the absence of care) to make her happy.

We have mentioned the Jacobin, Captain Wallerstein. This personage is a nobleman whose principal estate lies in the neighbourhood of Lindenholt. Being of an ardent mind, and well cultivated understanding, he early imbibed sentiments and opinions much too enlarged for the narrow-minded body of men to which he belonged, and, on coming into possession of his paternal estates, had introduced certain reforms into the condition of his tenantry, which exposed him to the charitable imputation of jacobinical principles, an imputation which it was just as easy to fix, and just as difficult to get rid of then in Esthonia, as it is now in England.

Placed at a distance from general society, as much by the superiority of his intellect as by the singularity of some of his opinions, his disposition and manner had assumed somewhat of a satirical or misanthropic cast. He despised the follies of men, and was not very complaisant to those of women. In this frame of mind, he thought of paying his addresses to Leontine de de Blondheim in conformity with the wishes of his mother; but when he sought her company at Revel, he was unable to distinguish in her any thing beyond a good tempered, cherry-cheeked country girl, and the repulse which he received neither affected his happiness nor even mortified his vanity. Meanwhile Leontine had become the wife of Arlhoff, and a year or two passing over her head had made an incredible alteration both in her mind and person. She visits the mother of Wallerstein, and views with astonishment and admiration the improvements made by his *jacobinical* system in the state and condition of his tenantry, and the many unequivocal marks of an enlightened and benevolent mind which are displayed in the arrangements of his favourite residence. She begins to apprehend that a *Jacobin* is not quite so monstrous a production, and conceives for the first time an idea that she is not well suited in a husband. Soon after, Wallerstein himself comes into the country, meets Leontine, and wonders at his own folly in not discovering sooner the beauties of her mind and person, in pursuing her with so little ardour and losing her with so little regret. Leontine on the other hand convinces herself that Wallerstein has two eyes, a nose, a mouth, and a chin, like other men, and that the old ladies were much mistaken who told her that a *Jacobin* always walked on all fours and carried a tail behind him like Lord Monboddos *Autographes*.

Thus prepared, the reader will not at all wonder (especially if well read in German literature) that both parties fall seriously



in love with each other, and that after mutual sighing, and thinking, and wondering what it could mean, they evince such unequivocal proofs of the tender passion as neither can avoid noticing in the other. - The generous and noble-minded Wallerstein affects a violent friendship for Arlhoff (whom he both despises and hates) in order to obtain free and unsuspected access to Lindenholtm castle ; and the good husband (with a facility of character of which there are few examples in domesticated debauchees) is very well pleased to find his wife and his new acquaintance on such good terms with each other. Leontine, notwithstanding her simplicity, forms some vague ideas of a connection not altogether consistent with her marriage vow. She takes care, therefore, to come to an early explanation with the captain ; and being persuaded that his passion is merely platonic, she then resigns herself to the imagination of a pure, elegant, and spiritual intercourse, by which she would secure to herself two husbands, one for the visible outward woman, the other for the invisible and immaterial soul.

This scheme, it seems, would have answered remarkably well, but for two of the three parties to the intended contract. Arlhoff, the first, would be contented, in all probability, with the share assigned him, but from the apprehension (which *even he at last* begins to entertain) that his friend may interfere and claim a sort of joint tenancy, a participation (as the lawyers say) *per my et per tout*, in the rents and profits of the demised premises. The virtuous Wallerstein too, entertains some rebellious thoughts not entirely consistent with his metaphysics, some floating suspicions that (to veil the gross idea in the delicate language of *le Pasteur Gruber*), 'quand la nature a placé en nous le germe de l'amour, la conservation de l'espace a été son unique but.' A few fraternal kisses awaken in the breast of Leontine some other passions than that of anger, and embolden the daring tenant of her soul to make certain proposals for eloping with her body, which Leontine (most christian-like !) forgives while she rejects, assigning as the main reason for her rejection, her father's prejudices, which she is not quite philosophized enough to wound without repugnance. At the same time, however, that she treats the *egaremens* of her cicisbeo with so much lenity, she displays a very proper spirit of high-toned resentment against the presumptuous Arlhoff, who (in representing to her *at last* his fear lest Wallerstein might eventually engross more of her affection than was quite consistent with the opinion of the world) good-humouredly adds, 'tout s'arrangera, j'espere, avec le tems, et ton imagination finera par se calmer: tu as lu beaucoup de romans depuis quelques années ; et Wallerstein, au fait, est un vrai héros de roman.' The cool *tout s'arrangera* of an impertinent husband effectually rouses (to use her own expressions) all the bitterness

of contempt in the mind of the wife ; for what married lady of sixteen can endure to have the soundness of her sense and discretion questioned for an instant ? Arlhoff, however, succeeds in getting the *cicisbeo* forbidden a repetition of his familiar visits,—but, poor man ! little does he think that he succeeds only to his own loss ! The captain represents to Leontine (in the same tone of delicacy which pervades the work) how unhappy it makes him to lie alone and reflect that she is in the arms of another ; and requires from her as a condition of his banishment, that she will contrive some method of satisfying his delicacy on this point ; to which she frankly answers by a solemn oath that she will never let her husband approach her again. How this domestic arrangement was afterwards effected we are not informed, although we are repeatedly given to understand that from that time forward there were separate apartments in Lindenholm castle.

Soon afterwards, old Blondheim opportunely dies ; Wallerstein resumes his suit for an elopement, and proceeds very systematically with his advances, which, on one occasion, are carried to such lengths that the unexpected entrance of a maid-servant alone prevents the completion of a very fashionable catastrophe.

Meanwhile, Arlhoff is obliged to join his regiment under orders to march into Switzerland. Leontine assumes a sudden fit of heroism, and declares her resolution to see nothing of the dear captain during his absence, upon which the dear captain thinks fit to despair (certainly without any reason) and volunteers his services in the same regiment with Arlhoff, hoping to meet with a glorious death on the bayonets of the enemy. Leontine remains behind at Lindenholm with a female confidante lately introduced by her husband into the family under the name of Juliet Lamm. They have not been long left together ere Miss Lamm proves with child, and confesses to Leontine that the wicked major was her seducer. Leontine, who perhaps reflects on herself for the iniquity of separate beds adopts the resolution which in Germany may be esteemed generous, but in England would certainly have qualified her for Bedlam, of saving the reputation of her husband's strumpet by passing the child for her own. She instantly gives out to all the world that she is herself pregnant and has a fancy for Petersburg as the place of her accouchement. Upon the news of this event all the bells in Esthonia fall a ringing, and all the old women's tongues in Revel go at a wonderful rate, universally assigning to captain Wallerstein the parental honours. But when the poor captain hears the report in Switzerland, he immediately runs like a madman all about the camp, getting drunk with the common soldiers, and damning himself to twenty thousand devils because his faithless

Leontine had, contrary to her vow, committed adultery with her own husband. He also writes to the lady a letter full of cutting irony, and resolves to get knocked on the head as fast as possible. In this hope, however, he contrives to be disappointed. Peace is signed and the regiment recalled; but before they go back Arlhoff is killed off in a duel about a young lady of the description of those who usually follow in the train of a camp.

To vulgar comprehension there seems now to exist no longer a reason why all matters should not be explained, and why Wallerstein and Leontine should not legally conclude the transaction which had been illegally begun and broken off so mal-a-propos by the entrance of a chamber-maid. But Mr. Kotzebue, has not yet advanced more than fifty pages in his last volume. Accordingly, Wallerstein returns to his Esthonian villa only to take leave of it for ever, disdaining to seek an interview with a woman who has been so depraved and abandoned as to suffer her husband to have a child; while Leontine herself, though dying by inches from the cruelty of the constraint, is prevented from rectifying the mistake only by a vow which she made to Miss Lamm (on the death bed of that unfortunate girl) to preserve her reputation unsullied, although the same vow did not restrain her from disclosing the awful secret to two or three *indifferent* persons.

In this *natural* posture of affairs, Wallerstein flies away, in company with a young Swiss protégé, to the house of his tutor and correspondent, the venerable *Pasteur Gruber*, situated in the deepest retirement of the woods of Galicia; and here he forms the extraordinary determination of *making the old man happy* by marrying his daughter. Old Gruber, who was the confidant of Wallerstein during the whole of his intrigues with madame Arlhoff, who knew the present state of his mind, and the irradicable nature of the impression that had been made on it, might naturally have been supposed to hesitate a little at this strange proposal. But no, nothing could delight him more.

In short, all things are arranged for the marriage, notwithstanding an ardent love which had lately sprung up between Miss Gruber and the young Swiss, but which the one resolves to conceal *out of regard to her papa's happiness*, and the other *out of gratitude to his patron*, and thus, owing to the meally-mouthed sentimentality of these German *Platonists*, another match is on the eve of being cooked up just as disproportioned and as full fraught with evil as that between Arlhoff and Leontine, when the last mentioned fair one, travelling, the Lord knows whither, in company with one Madame Thimen, (whom she has made acquainted with the very secret which *her vow* forbade her to divulge to the only person concerned in it) the postillions are kind enough to lose their way and benight

them in the very wood where M. le Pasteur resides. It happens, fortunately, that the young Swiss, unable to bear the sight of his patron's *felicity*, yet unwilling to interrupt it by the gloominess of his presence, has on that very evening taken the resolution of *running away*: and his heels carry him precisely to the place where Mesdames Arlhoff and Thimen are sticking. Have we brought the story far enough for our readers to guess the conclusion? not quite, for although they will readily conjecture that, 'change sides and back again,' forms the figure of the concluding dance, we do not suppose that any one of them will be truly German enough to imagine that captain Wallerstein had *long before* heard of the mistake in which he was involved about Leontine's infidelity, and that he was actually on the point of consummating the wretchedness of himself, of his mistress, of poor Louisa Gruber, and of his friend Wattewyl, because . . . (why in the name of sensibility?) because . . . he thought it would be ungentlemanly to retract after making an offer!!!

We have been thus diffuse in our summary of a story, which many of our readers may perhaps think hardly worth the pains, because we conceive that the mischiefs of German morality can only be effectually opposed by a plain matter-of-fact exposure of its absurdity, and because we think that some fair readers, who might otherwise glow and sigh over the pages of Kotzebue, may by the help of such a key be enabled to view, with merited ridicule, the idiotism of his sophistry. In preaching, at this time of day, against the vices of what has been technically called the new philosophy, we shall perhaps be laughed at. But there is a species of cant which has survived the exploded phantasies of Godwin and Anarcharsis Klotz, which we believe to have nothing to do with revolutionary principles, but to be the child of general corruption and the parent of every mental disorder. It is that which has filled the columns of our newspapers with *interesting law intelligence*, and fixed the indelible stigma of disgrace on half of the most noble families in Great Britain. It is that which has involved in all the miseries of shame and ignominy, so many of the loveliest ladies of our land, who might have been kept in the paths of virtue, happiness, and fame, by the timely perusal of an *Anti-Leontine*.

ART. III.—*Bragur. Vol. I. to VIII. 8vo. Leipzig.*

IN referring our readers back to the last Appendix, for the previous portion of this article, we especially wish to recall their attention to the poem (p. 519), which it contains. *The death-song of Hacon*, is the triumph of the Scandinavian muse.

Tyr, the God of war, sends the Valkyries, or strippers of the

dead, to invite Hacon to visit Odin, the god of death. His reluctance to heed their beckon, how natural ! Their consolations how beautiful ! His reception by the gods of eloquence and poetry, how appropriate for a hero who was to be immortalized ! Buried in his arms, he is represented as choosing so to present himself in Valhalla ; that is, the hall of the dead. The victim of an attack by surprise, he is full of the important lessons, that 'tis well to keep one's armour on. The superiority of fame to wealth, to rank, to empire, how impressively taught, by the poet in the concluding stanza ! The correctness of the allegory is no where forgotten, to increase the splendor of the mythologic imagery. Not only the thought or conception, is throughout simple, natural, just and lofty, but the style is admirably descriptive. In some places, as where a banner is called *the hider of heaven*, it perhaps borders on bombast ; but, in general, even through the medium of an imperfect version, it is apt, new and grand.

We return to the proper business of this article ; but have at present room only for the *introduction* to the second and concluding book of the history of the sword Tyrting.

\* Thus were the dwarves avenged on Swafurlam, for the insult of compelling them to redeem their lives with the gift of a sword. Dwalin's prophecy, that the first owner must first beware, had but too exactly been fulfilled by the event of the late combat. Far greater misfortunes seemed however to be portended by the mottos on the blade ; and as the curses of dwarves, like those of the Nor-nics, eventually take effect, even if a whole generation has to await their fulfilment, a degree of uneasiness about them often afflicted Eyfura. After the first tumultuous enjoyments of marriage, she began to tremble for the life of her husband, and often begged him to give away, or to bury underground, a weapon which had been so fatal to those she cared about. But Arngrim was too much the warrior, and too proud of his trophy, to let the timorousness of a woman alarm him into putting it aside. Am I a niggard ? he would ask : can the motto be addressed to me ? At other times he would repel her intreaties, by relating old stories about the dwarves, which showed that their curses were seldom fulfilled on the living generation.

‘ The all-despising courage and confidence, with which Arngrim related these traditions, insensibly caused Eyfura to drop the subject, and as her husband habitually returned from his numerous cruises with glory and success, and brought home the spoil of powerful and distant chieftains, many of whom had fallen by the blade of Tyrting, her fears at length subsided, and were forgotten in other cares. She lived much at her ease, and had the satisfaction year after year of becoming a mother, and always of being delivered of a son. She bore in all twelve sons ; but the two youngest were twins, and their birth cost her life. The eldest was named Angantyr, the second Heerwart, the third Seming, the fourth Yorward,



the fifth Brami, the sixth Brani, the seventh Barri, the eighth Reiter, the ninth Tunder, the tenth Bui, and the eleventh and twelfth were both called Hadding. But these twins, the last efforts of the now ageing Arngrim, were but half as strong as their brethren.

Angantyr on the contrary, who was the first-born, was a whole head taller than any of his juniors, and could do alone as much as any two of them with united force could accomplish. The warlike spirit of their father had descended to them all. In their boyhood they already delighted to wrestle and to box, and as soon as they were so far grown as to know the use of a sword, they went out to seek their fortunes, and assisted in many an inroad both by land and water. In these joint excursions their fraternal enthusiasm acquired great strength, and they swore to one another reciprocally everlasting fidelity and friendship. Each was to consider the other's cause as his own; and if one was injured, or had any important undertaking to carry through, all the others were to take part in it. No one was to go on adventures of his separate account; no one to abandon the rest; but *all for one, and one for all* to stake life to its last blood-drop.

And this bond they kept. Where one was, all were. Each fought for the rest, and would defy the greatest danger for his brother's sake. If a champion proposed to any one of them an island-meeting, he had to sustain successively a combat with the whole twelve. Added to this, they observed the custom of their father, always to appear without helmet or mail; and hence they inherited the name of the Baresarks. No less inherent in them was his rage in fight: but this fury was in them more frequent, more violent, and often ill-timed. Hence if they were on board ship, with only their own people, and felt an attack of this animosity coming on, they were in the habit of landing, in order to vent their insanity on rocks and huge trees; for without something to hew and hack, until tamed with effort and fatigue, they were not masters of themselves. Once the misfortune had happened to them, in a fit of this kind, that they fell upon their own crew slew every man of them, and cut into chips the masts and rigging of their ship. They spared no man: whoever withstood them they went against, and destroyed: and the marks of their daring and desolating spirit were scattered over a vast region. Hyndla sings truly,

Manifold are the evils  
Which the rage of the Baresarks,  
Like storm, or flame,  
By sea and land,  
Have hurled on men.

But these evils operated to produce submission to their will: so that princes and kings of the north cared not to refuse any request of the Baresarks, fearing to expose their lands, their people, or their homes, to the ravages of these formidable sea-kings.

Once the brothers had laid by for the winter, and were come to pass, at their father's house in Bolmey, the yule feast, which suc-

ceeded to the shortest day. On these occasions, it was customary, after the Braga-full, or third cup of ale, to make peculiar vows to the honor of the god Braga. One of the vows thus made by a son of Arngrim has, on account of its eventful consequences, been recorded by historians, namely, the vow of Yorward, the fourth son.

‘He had waited until his elder brethren had staked their pledges, and, when the great cup came to him, he held it up in his right hand and said: “By this cup, brothers, I swear to get Ingburg, the daughter of the great Yngwin for my wife, or perish in the attempt: Braga blast me, if I do not.” Thereupon he emptied the cup. Now the princess Ingburg was the most beautiful and the most intelligent woman of her time; and was daughter to the king of Swithiod, a land of the Swedes.

‘In the ensuing spring, therefore, the twelve brothers set off together for Upsal; and, as soon as they were come to the palace, they entered straightway at the men’s door, and placed themselves at the table of the king. All the present persons were startled at this unexpected intrusion of the Baresarks, and looked at one another wondering. The king was sitting on his high seat, and the princess at his left hand. At table, were the two famous champions and guardians of the kingdom, Hialmar the bold, and Oddur the far-travelled, also surnamed Dart-Oddur. The former had his place next the princess, whom he long had loved in secret, and for whose sake probably he had forsaken his father’s court, and entered into the service of Swithiod.

‘Yorward now began, and all listened eagerly for what he meant to say: King, I am come to win thy daughter for my bride: I have sworn, over the cup of Braga, to take Ingburg, or death: tell me soon. O king, what is to be the doom of my prayer?

‘When Hialmar heard what was the errand of the Baresarks, and perceived that the king was somewhat irresolute about an answer, he arose from his boister, and standing close to the king’s table thus spoke.

‘You know, prince, that since I came into this land I have brought it honour and praise, and have fought many a successful combat to keep the kingdom safe for you and your’s, abroad and at home. I have been, under the gods, the mean of extending your realm, and of bringing into your hoards much booty. I therefore ask a boon, such as my efforts and my birth have a right to claim. Give me your daughter; I have long hoped for some occasion to make the prayer. I am better entitled to her than these Baresarks, who are strangers in your land, and propose to carry her afar off, and who are besides harsh and bad men.

‘This speech put Ingwin in still greater embarrassment. On the one side he reflected how powerful and how over-bearing the twelve brothers were; of how famous a stem they were sprung; how decorous, and even useful, might be their alliance, how formidable and destructive their hostility. On the other hand he felt how much gratitude was due to Hialmar, the champion and protector of

his kingdom, and how much the personal friendliness, which prevailed between them, would contribute to make him a welcome kinsman. Thinking to avoid the odium and risk of a decision between the rival claimants, the king said : You are both great men and well-born : to neither would I have refused my daughter, if only one had applied : as you have both spoken, let *her* decide.

‘ Since the choice is left to me, said Ingburg, rising with inexpressible dignity from her seat, and awing into stillness by the full display of her beauty, the rising anger of the rivals, I will declare that choice. Hialmar whose great and good deeds have been done here and for us, Hialmar, for so many years my father’s friend and mine, I shall prefer to the stranger, in whose land no one knows me or cares for me.

‘ I shall have no words with you, said Baresark to the princess, for I see you love him : but you, Hialmar, meet me at Midsummer on Samsey : you are a niggard, if you fail to come ; or if you wed before you have fought. Hialmar swore by Odin, that he would come at the appointed time.

‘ Then the brothers returned back to Bolmey, and related to their father the event of their expedition. Arngrim seemed dissatisfied, and said that Hialmar was a brave and a strong man ; and that he wished their visit to Samsey was well over. The brothers were too proud of their prowess to heed much such apprehensions. They staid all the winter with their father, and in the spring began to prepare for a trip, which was no short voyage from their father’s home.

‘ The old Arngrim, who began to feel that he had not a great many nights in store, observed with grief the preparation for an enterprize, which his inklings led him to fear would be disastrous for his sons. When the time for their departure came, he said to them. Go, my sons, since you will go, and take your fate. If the Nornics please you shall be lucky : at least, you have my good wishes, and my blessing. I wish you to win the battle, and come back to your father safe and sound, as many of you as may. But, my sons, I feel as if I should never see you more. My days are wintering apace : however, I will fetch you out of my hoard, the best gift I can, to each a good sword. Angantyr shall take my Tyrting, it has long rested, but never rusted : perhaps he may win with it the king’s daughter for his brother, and so use it as to escape the curses inscribed by the Dwarves upon the blade. You have heard me talk of this sword, which was never drawn without killing its man, and which I always reserved for great extremities. Farewell, and come again.

‘ Such were the parting words of the anxious old man : he accompanied his sons in silence to the ship ; took a sad leave, foreboding evil ; and returned to his lonely dwelling, brushing the tears from his white eye-lash.

‘ The Baresarks set off with a fair wind ; they sailed in a southerly direction, along the rocks of Norway, and after having passed the coast of Jutland, turned eastward into the bay, called the Skagerrak,

which is the entrance of the Baltic. Here they could not behold the dwelling of their faithful friend, earl Biartmar, without resolving to land and to visit him. This earl, the lord of Aalburg, had always been the confidant of the sons of Arngrim: he was a great warrior, and had many times lent aid, as well as shelter, to the Baresarks, when danger, or need, drove them to seek refuge in his hospitable home. They were now not far from the place of appointment, and had some weeks to spare before its date would arrive: but they had chosen to set off before their time pressed, lest adverse winds should prolong, or intercept, the earlier part of their voyage. This interval they determined to pass with their old and valued friend.

Earl Biartmar was heartily glad of the arrival of his young guests. He caused a great meal to be prepared. His only daughter Swafa presided at the board: she was now of a marriageable age, and her complexion was compared by the skelds to red northern lights reflected upon snow. Angantyr, in the course of his frequent visits, had often seen this young heroine with delight, and probably had long harboured the thought of asking her hand of the father. To-day, when the ale was circulating, and his heart felt warm, he took the opportunity, just after Swafa had withdrawn, of applying for her formally to Biartmar. To the earl this was a welcome offer: he called for the love-cup, which was next in turn, and insisted that the names of Angantyr and Swafa should be uttered in union by every guest; and the cup was emptied by each to their honor. He himself withdrew, under pretence of pointing out the chosen beverage, to whisper the incident to Swafa; and he returned, full of satisfaction, to urge the ceremony of the toast. He determined that the marriage should take place at once, and announced the dinner of the very next day as the wedding-feast.

On the morrow, the meal was doubled, the union declared, and Swafa removed to sleep in the bed of Angantyr. The festivities lasted fourteen days, after which Yorward reminded his brothers, that the time for the appointed combat was now at the door; and that it became them to prepare for immediate embarkment.

O that ye could for ever have remained with the friend of your heart, sons of Arngrim; misfortune would not so early have fallen upon your heads! How will your old father groan, when he hears the fate of his sons! Your fall will be his fall! O Biartmar, you have feasted your friends for the last time: your daughter has tasted the joys of love; but she has tasted them for the only fortnight. Lonely henceforth shall be the life of Swafa! O that ye could for ever have remained with the friend of your heart, sons of Arngrim; misfortune would not so early have fallen upon your heads.

The last night before their departure Angantyr had a foreboding dream, which he related the next morning to the earl, after he had left the side of his grieving Swafa. 'I thought,' said he, 'that my brothers and I were in Samsey; and that a vast flight of birds came against us, which we utterly destroyed; but we saw, following

these birds, two eagles, and the one of them pounced successively at all my brothers, and left them stretched upon the field, and the other struck at me with its beak and its talons, and rose on its wings. when I aimed at it with my sword, so that I fell wearied to the earth, 'Tis not a dream hard to be guessed,' replied Biartmar, 'it announces the fall of many men, and I fear some of you are meant!' The Baresarks did not agree to the earl's interpretation, and thought they had nothing to apprehend. 'All must go when the Nornics call;' said the earl, and thus ended their talk.

'The Baresarks now got ready, took their good arms on board, and set sail. Swafa begged to accompany Angantyr, but suffered herself to be detained by her father's intreaties. Biartmar led her back from a high promontory, which she had climbed to take a last view of the vessel. The wind was brisk, and lifted the streamers, the sun was bright, and the ship, with its twelve heroes, scudded hissing along the waves toward Samsey.'

#### ART. IV.—*Le Physionomiste, &c.*

*The Physiognomist, or the Observer of Man, considering the Relations of his Manners and Character to the Lineaments of his Face, the Forms of his Body, his Gait, his Voice, his Laughter, &c. &c. with Observations on the Resemblance of Individuals to certain Animals. By I. B. Porta. Freely translated from the Latin. Paris. 1808.*

IN a state of society where men are chiefly occupied about the means of simple subsistence, the connection of individuals with the other individuals of the species is slight and transitory. The man who depends upon his own limbs to procure his daily food is little concerned about the thoughts or characters of his fellow beings. Their actions cannot affect him, unless they proceed to deeds of open violence; wherefore then should he study their disposition, or attempt to dive into the secrets of their heart? But as he emerges from a state of simplicity; as he becomes tormented by a croud of artificial wants, he becomes more and more connected with the beings that surround him; his welfare is no longer in his own hands; his independence is gone; every one that approaches him is regarded as a friend or an enemy; and experience having often too totally convinced him of the little confidence that is to be placed in words, he scrutinizes with anxiety the voice, the gesture, the very looks of those with whom he converses, and attempts from external signs to penetrate into the most secret movements of the soul.

It was the wish of Socrates that a window should be placed in the bosom of every man. Such a window is often found upon the face, which betrays the thoughts, and designs which the



tongue would fain varnish over or conceal. Those who are deeply versed in the wiles of the world may attain such a command of countenance as to bid defiance to suspicion or curiosity. But observe the features of the young and unhacknied culprit; mark his averted eye, his blushing countenance, and his faltering tongue; and we must confess that nature has placed formidable barriers against artifice and hypocrisy. The study, then, of the human countenance is not founded on the shallow basis of fanciful conjecture. Nature has made us all physiognomists to a certain degree; though we never have studied physiognomy as an art, nor know a single rule of the adepts.

But we cannot be surprised that at all times many should have professed to teach what it is so interesting to all to know. We find then in the writings of the classic authors of antiquity many traces of the high pretensions of physiognomists by profession. It cannot be doubted that these pretensions have been frequently carried to an absurd and extravagant height. Nor do we even think that the defence set up in palliation of their blunders has been always a very good one. Zopyrus, a famous physiognomist, (the story is related by Cicero in the Tusculan questions) pronounced, from the traits of the face of Socrates, the philosopher to be inclined to many vices. The philosopher defended the judgment of the physiognomist, by avowing such to have been his original propensities, averring that he had conquered them by the force of reason. This was good natured at least. Ought not, however, we may ask, the strength of his reason to have been as strongly characterized, as his original vicious propensities?

But the extravagances of ill-founded pretensions afford no solid grounds for discrediting an art which has its foundations in the nature of things, and which it is probable is susceptible of improvement by study and cultivation. Not only are the passions of the moment depicted on the countenance, but there may be seen in the same mirror the outlines of the character of the whole man; the moral and intellectual features which so strongly diversify the individuals of the human race. In this point there is an alliance between physiognomy and medicine. The doctrine of *temperaments* is among the most ancient of those which have descended to our own times; and though the notion of their being founded upon the excess of this or that particular humour has been discarded by a more correct philosophy, it has never been doubted that the distinctions themselves have been drawn from observations of human nature. No man who looks around among his acquaintance will find much difficulty in pronouncing that one is of a sanguine temperament, another melancholic, a third phlegmatic, and a fourth choleric. The physician knows the importance of these distinctions as pointing out to him the tendencies to peculiar diseases, which are associated with each habit; the moralist, that each temperament

has its proper character ; that the heart, temper, and morals are strongly influenced by them, M. Cabanis has illustrated this subject in his essay on the relation between the physical structure and moral character of man. He has observed that those who perpetrate great atrocities are strongly marked by a peculiar physiognomy. Our own immortal poet Shakespeare, the most accurate observer of human nature perhaps that ever lived, has expressed the same conviction when he makes Cæsar express to Mark Antony his apprehensions of " that spare Cassius."

' Let me have men about me that are fat,  
Sleak-headed men, and such as sleep a nights :  
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look,  
He thinks too much ; such men are dangerous.'

We have lately seen a strong illustration of the truth of these principles. Looking over a series of portraits of men distinguished in the French revolution, we met among many others with those of Carrier and Marat. Two more villainous countenances never struck our eyes. We do not pretend to skill enough to analyze them. But we are confident that no timid person could have met Carrier in a solitary place without shuddering.

To those who are acquainted with the laws of the animal economy, there can be no difficulty in explaining the principles which are the foundation of physiognomy. Every passion or emotion, however transitory, has its corresponding internal change and its external expression. Now the different organs are in different individuals in various degrees of natural and habitual excitation. This gives to each individual both his ruling passion and his peculiar expression. Can we doubt that some are constitutionally amorous, do not the eyes, the gestures, the smile, the voice, all betray the secret propensity of the heart ? does it not burst out in spite of reserve, and shame, and almost of virtue itself ?

But if there be a genuine science of physiognomy, founded on the real principles of human nature, there is also a vain, false, and futile art, founded on no real principle whatever, and which has as little pretensions to be called a science. Nature tells us to observe the eyes, the colour, the gesture, or the countenance, but these adepts say, mark the hair ; thin hair denotes fraud and malice ; strong hair shews a ferocious disposition ; those who have straight hair are timid, rustic or stupid ; but cowards too have curled hair ; that is to say if the hair be too much curled : but to have hair curled only at the ends is a sign of courage and energy. So says M. Porta, and so says Aristotle. Mighty discoveries may be made from the fingers. Thick short fingers, says one, are a sign of folly ; says

another, they denote envy, cruelty, and boldness. The ingenious have simple fingers (*les doigts simples*.) The man whose fingers are bent backwards is liberal, officious, and intelligent; whilst those who have the fingers bent inward, are greedy and rapacious; because, truly, the eagle, falcon, and hawk, have crooked talons. Even the toes contribute their share to determine the *intellectual and moral character*. Those whose toes are crooked are like crows, starlings, &c. which are impudent. Such men are therefore without shame. Those whose toes are adherent and conjoined, are timid like water-fowl, which are web-footed. The man whose toes are at a small distance from each other, is light-minded, and talkative. Short and thick toes denote a man rash, improvident, and inclined to cruelty. Toes of a moderate size and well-proportioned, bespeak a man of excellent manners. Such is the opinion of Polemon, of Adæmantius, of Conciliator, and of Albert.

In these examples we have exhibited a specimen of the sort of information to be derived from this volume. It professes to present an epitome of the doctrines regarding physiognomy, which may be found in the writings of the ancients. It might with sufficient propriety be termed a specimen of the absurdities, incongruities, and unfounded assertions, which might be supported by the authority of antiquity, or sanctioned by the weight of powerful names.

The work is divided into two books; the first treating of the exterior parts of man, and of the signs which are presented by them. In the second, the qualities of the man are assumed; and, the physiognomical traits attached to them are annexed. In the first we have a grave and solemn enumeration of every part which makes up the human form, and so minute that though the volume is but a very moderate octavo the summary of the contents of this part fills no less than twenty pages. Our opinion of its general value we have already given, let the reader judge for himself from a longer specimen. On the size of the head we find the following remarks:

‘Aristotle says, in his writings on physiognomy, those who have the volume of the head rather larger than ordinary, for example like the dogs we call setters, are like them, intelligent, full of sagacity, and possessing a very delicate smell.’

‘Polemon pretends that heads which are a little above the ordinary standard, are filled with good sense and *illiberal*; but the text is defective. Adæmantius corrects him and attributes *illiberality* only to heads still more voluminous than these last; they being, according to this author, sensible, strong, and magnanimous. Albert says that a head rather larger than ordinary, indicates intelligence, energy and magnanimity. The Egyptians painted their god Anubis, which some take for Mercury, with a dog's head, assigning for a

reason that no animal has so much sense as the dog. Among birds, parrots have a large head; they learn likewise to speak. Galen says, in his book entitled '*the Art of Medicine*,' that the judgment drawn from the size of the head is often erroneous, because attention is paid only to its volume, which, considered abstractedly is not a certain sign of its being well constituted; but when to a large head is joined an agreeable countenance, perfect eyes; when the head is supported by a solid muscular neck, divided properly by the vertebræ, and proportioned to its size; such a head, says Galen, is a very good sign: and we read in his book, on *Popular Diseases*, as a large chest, containing in its ample cavity, well formed lungs, and a heart whose functions are freely exercised, are a sign of vital energy, in like manner, a large head, and a cavity for the spine in proportion, containing, the one a brain of extraordinary magnitude, and the other a spinal marrow of a large diameter, are very proper for the separation of the animal spirits; whence proceeds the energy of the intellectual faculties.

'Avicenna repeats after Galen the same assertion.

'John of Alexandria, in his commentaries upon Hippocrates expresses himself thus. "We look for a head of large capacity, because it is the receptacle of the sensitive faculties, and the source of the grand movements of the body. If the brain is large in proportion to the head (qu. the body?) it is evident that much heat will be generated in it. If the vertebræ are large, as well as the bones of the chest, the vital forces, and the nutrition of all the parts of the body are energetic." We may see in the statues of Plato, that his head exceeded a little in proportion the other parts of his body, which answers very well to the perspicacity and force of his genius.'

One of the most beautiful of the ancient statues (if we remember right, the Apollo Belvidere) has the head remarkably small; and we are persuaded that whatever be the proportion of the head to the body in a perfectly-formed man, in us Englishmen the proportion is habitually exceeded. The large quantities of animal food which we habitually use, causes an habitual turgescence and excitation of the vessels of the brain. Whether this is attended with quickness of intellect or with hebetude, depends, we believe, upon accident, or to speak more correctly upon internal causes, with which we are unacquainted. But much depends upon the time of life. It has been often remarked that those, who in the decline of life are lethargic, and finally apoplectic, were at an earlier period remarkable for their vivacity and acumen. The powers seem exhausted by previous over excitement.

The man of probity and his opposite we find thus characterized.

'The Man of Probity.

'His figure is fine, his shoulders wide, his chest large, his respi-

ration easy and tranquil; the nose large enough, and well proportioned to the rest of his face; the eyes are large, and a little sunk, or much open, having the expression of softness: it sometimes happens that the eyes have a small degree of melancholy, and that the eye-brows advance upon them, whilst the forehead from this circumstance is a little severe; but all this is in moderation.

*'The Man without Probity.'*

'The man without probity is remarkable for the ugliness of his face. The ears are long and straight; the mouth small, projecting forwards, the canine teeth directed outwards and hard; his manner of speaking, quick, abrupt, and disagreeable, particularly when the voice is harsh, or when he speaks through the nose, and with difficulty; his neck is bent forwards, and often the back is so too; the legs are thin, his feet badly formed; his eyes are placed almost in the length (quæ the axis?) of the face, or they are turned towards the upper eye-lid, and directed one towards the other, shining like polished marble and dry. There are men without probity whose eyes vibrate as if they were coming out of the head, pale, or of a red colour and dry.'

It would be well for human society, if it were so easy to distinguish a knave from an honest man. But, we fear that many a pleasing countenance is but a mask to a perverse mind, and we know too that a rough and homely outside may cover a warm and honest heart.

We think that the author of this collection has taken much trouble to prove that the ancients were as great adepts as the moderns in professing what they did not understand; that no absurdity is so gross that it cannot be defended by the authority of some great name, and that some men are so perversely industrious as to spend their lives in attempting to perpetuate follies, which ought to be suffered to sink quietly into the tomb of oblivion.

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ART. V.—*Hieropolis* von J. C. Greiling. 8vo.

*Greyling's Hieropolis.* Magdeburg. 1806.

THIS is a curious, though not a popular book. It undertakes to examine the relation which ought to subsist between the clerical order and the state. In organizing a system of public instruction, three different bases may be adopted as the criterion of legitimate preference. I. *Truth*. The magistrate may enquire for himself into the validity of the pretensions of contending religions, and may institute for the use of others that which he has discovered to be right. II. *Prevalence*. The magistrate may assume, that for any religion to be efficacious, it must be credited by the people: now he has no other



gage of faith, no other method of ascertaining the relative credibility, in his own time and country, of different opinions, but the prevalence of their profession. III. *Utility.* The magistrate may entirely neglect to concern himself about the relation between man and superior beings, between man and post-existence; and only provide for the institution of so much public instruction, as conduces to the benefit of the people in *this* life.

The relative operation of these bases of decision on learning, tolerance, liberty, and morality, and their relative operation on the shapes of public institution, form interesting subjects of speculation.

'I,' says the author in his introduction, 'am a worshipper of the holy trinity of Truth, Religion, and Virtue: but I do not believe that mankind would educate themselves to this worship, without the assistance of the state. They have need of many a Prometheus to fetch from heaven the torch of wisdom, or they will not be cheered and enlightened by its rays. If six days in the week are given to selfish pursuits, to bettering, each for himself, his own condition in life; it is not too much to spend the seventh in examining and recommending our common interests, our reciprocal duties, our means of mutual, and public beneficence.'

It is evident, the author thinks, that without the higher sort of education among the clergy, no good can arise from an order of public instructors. They will neither be able to discern the morally beautiful, nor to apply with eloquence and efficacy, the arguments of learning in its behalf. The cost of such an education should be indemnified by a salary, sufficiently liberal to maintain, with some elegance, a married couple; else the more exemplary domestic virtues, the art of scattering the graces and refinements of taste over habits of strict family economy, will rarely be realized. The chief cause of the civilization of country-places is the residence of an order of lettered men, who are constantly exemplifying in their families the habits and manners of accomplished life, and exhibiting specimens to the rustic of the art of living wisely.

But, in proportion as these finer sensibilities are evolved, which scatter the perfume of benevolence over every part of conduct, will also prevail that conscientious irritability, that scrupulous sincerity, which disdains even to conceal, far more to disguise, its interior persuasions. Hence it happens, that, wherever formularies of orthodoxy are imposed, some cases occur, in which men of high excellence for principle, disinterestedness, culture, and learning, are obliged to desert the clerical duties, and to seek in pupilage, or in lay-industry, a livelihood, which pays no income-tax of prevarication. Mr. Greyling much inclines to the notion, that a church might be so

constituted, as to leave opinion free as air; and yet to secure all those benefits to learning, to morals, and to public obedience, which the ecclesiastic order has been instrumental in conferring. In England a mere repeal of the Act of Uniformity would produce this effect.

The magistrate, who presumes to think himself in possession of the *truth*, will eventually perceive, that he has much intolerance to commit, before he can drill others into *his* conviction. If Constantine to-day has a right to legislate for the religion of his subjects, Julian has the same right to-morrow. Queen Mary and queen Elizabeth are alike entitled to murder the teachers of another catechism. The risk of innovation is as great on this basis, and the probability of intolerance is greater, than on the basis that prevalence is the binding principle: yet the sovereign is surely entitled to believe that he is a better judge of truth than the people.

Suppose him to take *prevalence* for his basis.—We are obliged, in order to render sensible the ideas of our author, to translate, not his words, but his train of sentiment, into analogous combinations, derived from our own laws, and localities.—The magistrate will then find himself at liberty to establish Bucerism in England, Calvinism in Scotland, Catholicism in Ireland, Judaism in Guiana, Idolatry in Hindostan. On the basis of *truth* he must universalize in his empire the given religion which he prefers; on the basis of *prevalence*, he may confer on each province the patronage of its own peculiar creed.

‘Far be it from me,’ says our author, ‘to maintain with cant that our religion has an *esoteric* and an *exoteric* doctrine; that its *exoteric* tuition is to consist of those opinions, which can be rendered common to the pastor and his flock; and that its *esoteric* creed is to consist of those opinions, which can be rendered common to the pastor and the philosopher.—In this case, however, the inferences of the higher literature will be diffused as rapidly as the public can bear. The oar will not be heard to dip; but the course of the tide will remove the boat. And, when the waters seem to settle at a new level, the magistrate can change his conditions of anchorage.—But, on this principle, there is always a sacrifice of parishes to shires, of shires to dioceses; the inclinations of the more instructed are subjected to the average inclinations of the multitude; the wisest, whom it is most an object to conciliate, and the most foolish whom it is most an object to reform, are alike repelled from the fountains of instruction. Add to this, stability of opinion, which favours ignorance, is encouraged, and fluctuation of opinion, which favours instruction, is discouraged; and it will appear very doubtful, whether any temporary preference, in a given community, of a particular creed, can justify the legal establishment of that creed.’

There is a further danger in establishing the prevalent religion. The state must in that case obey the church. The tortoise (to adopt the singular simile of our author, p. 26) will be able to walk off with the elephant upon its back. The independence of the magistrate is best consulted by the multiplication of sects. The interests of tolerance are best consulted by it. Where each particular sect is less numerous than a coalition of the rest, all have a permanent interest in defending each other's privileges.

The author quotes 2 Corinthians i. 24, to prove that the priest ought to have no dominion over the faith of the people, nor the magistrate over the faith of the priest. The practical teachers of the church, says Melancthon, represent Christ; not the individuals formally entitled and impowered. The idea of a perfect doctrine is not to be ascertained by the votes of councils; but by the writings of men strong in mind and pure in heart. Yet the wisest schemes are not to be precipitately executed; some experience in the magistrate, some habitation in the people is requisite, for the erection of an expedient church.

If the magistrate takes *utility* for his basis, and carries his institution no further than his own wants require; it may be doubted at first, whether enough of public instruction would be provided, to deserve the name of a national church. Yet a great portion of our extant religion would even so be commanded.

‘ (1.) The magistrate has need of a sacrament of nomination. For the purpose of ascertaining the descent of property, the proportion of fighting men, the multitude of the people, &c. for the purpose of preventing secret births, irresponsible parentage, infanticide, &c. the subject must be called on to register, with the priest, the birth and name of every child. And it is highly expedient that at the time of such registration, the parents should indicate those individuals, to whom, in case of their own decease, they wish to transfer the superintendence of their orphans. This is accomplished by appointing a godfather and godmother. Perhaps the ancient union between the medical and priestly office is too much dissolved, and might expediently be restored in country-places; in which case instructions concerning the physical education of young children, the time for administering vaccination, &c. might conveniently be disseminated at the period of baptism.’

‘ (2.) The magistrate has need of a sacrament of confirmation. When the age of adolescence approaches, it is expedient to muster the juvenile population; to examine how extensively the arts of reading, writing and cyphering have been acquired; in what proportion the resources of subsistence are enjoyed; and how many await, unapprenticed, for the interference of some overseer in their behalf. At this age, much instruction ought to be given to the young, about

the care due to the health and perfection of the body, about the importance of neatness, temperance and exercise, about the inconveniences to be apprehended from premature, solitary, promiscuous or impure indulgence, and about the various precautions requisite to preserve throughout life the power of useful labour. Some consistories wisely require of the subordinate clergy the distribution of tracts on these topics, indicated by the medical boards. The Augsburg confession properly teaches *potestas ecclesiastica non impedit politicam administrationem: nam politica administratio versatur in aliis res quam evangelium.*

‘(3.) The magistrate has need of a sacrament of marriage. On the sanctity of that institution depends principally the domestic happiness of the people, the expedient education of the younger part of the community, and the prevalence of that degree of parental affection, which operates as the purest and most permanent motive and reward for general industry and frugality. To adultery, especially to adultery in the female parent, every obstacle should be opposed which public opinion, and which religion, so extensively the regulatress of public opinion, can supply. The exact registration and formal avowal of marriages is important, not only to the regulation of conduct, but to the distribution of property; not only to morality but to justice. Hence the solemnization of matrimony has in most countries been surrounded with appropriate and august ceremonies and instructions.’

‘(4.) The magistrate has need of a sacrament of burial. To prevent the secret interment of persons whose decease has been accelerated, and to ascertain accurately in whom vests the property left behind, a public funeral is wisely appointed for every citizen. Many wholesome moral admonitions are efficaciously circulated on such occasions.’

Beside these sacraments Mr. Greyling thinks that public festivals are essential in all forms of religion; and recommends particularly *the harvest home*, as that feast of exultation, which it is most convenient to celebrate with grateful hymns and hospitable concourse. The German churches have appropriate services for such occasions.

Having thus provided for the wants of the magistrates, and assented to the establishment of the requisite political formularies, the author proceeds to show, that to the voluntary concert of the pastor, and his parishioners, duly represented by elective elders, may safely be left the choice of liturgic books on ordinary occasions; and thus is to arise—a priesthood of truth, teaching wisdom, and practising virtue—a holy city on the heights of Zion—a new Jerusalem within the church, shining with glory, and peopled with angels.

ART. VI.—*Malvina : par Madame Cottin, Auteur de Claire d'Albe, Elizabeth, &c. Précédé de Memoires sur la Vie de l'Auteur.* 4 Tomes. 12mo. Colburn. 1809.

THE name of Madame Cottin had scarcely been heard in England before the publication of her *Elizabeth*, which at once deservedly fixed her reputation in this country and created a desire to become acquainted with those other works which had previously obtained for her celebrity in her own. It was not then generally understood that the amiable writer had already ended the race of literary fame which, on the contrary, she was supposed to have only begun. *Elizabeth* was the last effort of her genius, she survived its publication no more than a twelvemonth, having died at Paris at the early age of 35 in the month of August 1807.

The memoirs of her short career of existence which are prefixed to this London edition of one of her earlier performances, are not interesting for variety of incident or strong delineation of character, yet, simple and unassuming as the sketch will appear, it may in some degree satisfy the curiosity of those readers who wish to be informed who was the person from whom they have derived amusement or instruction.

Sophie Ristau was the only daughter of a rich merchant of Bourdeaux, a director of the French East India company, and of the reformed religion. Her life, it may be presumed, passed in uniform ease and tranquillity till her eighteenth year, when she was induced to bestow her hand on M. Jean Cottin, a banker at Paris, a young man whose prospects in life were every way answerable to her own, whose character was respectable, whose connections were amiable and well suited to the disposition of her who thus entered among them—Madame Girardot, the youngest of the two sisters of M. Cottin, was her equal in age; and in taste, in temper, in inclination, another self—accordingly an intimacy of friendship took place between them, such as has been seldom witnessed in real life since the days of Helena and Hermia, but not, like theirs, liable to be disturbed by passion or broken off by jealousy. The modest retirement of private life constituted all they knew or conceived of happiness, and beyond the little circle of their own select coteries, their virtues and accomplishments were never heard of.

‘It was in the beginning of 1791,’ says M. Boileau, her biographer, ‘that having accepted the place of tutor to the son of M. Jauge,’ (the husband of another sister of M. Cottin’s) ‘I had the happiness of being admitted to the society of Madame Cottin, and of seeing her every day. She was then in the flower of youth, and of an interesting figure. The whiteness of her complexion, her large blue eyes, and the melody of her voice (*le timbre de sa voix*) announced



the beauties of her soul: the whole of her physiognomy bore the impression of an excessive sensibility; and no man who has witnessed the smile of benevolence that played upon her lips, or the tears of compassion that trembled in her eye-lids, will ever lose the remembrance of her angelic sweetness. Her deportment, her looks, announced a degree of timidity which can hardly be conceived, but which was most singularly contrasted with that heroism of virtue which she so eminently possessed as to give the idea of something romantic to those who were unable to elevate themselves to the same enthusiasm for the fair and good. Sincerely attached to him with whom she was united, she fulfilled all the duties of a wife with the most scrupulous fidelity and the most genuine tenderness. Like her own *Clair d'Albe*, she had consulted all the feelings of her soul as to which were most calculated to contribute towards the happiness of her husband; she would have given her life for him; and yet I do not think I violate truth in asserting that her heart had never known the passion of love. The almost superhuman conceptions which her ardent imagination had suggested to her of the irresistible empire which that passion assumed over the soul, made her often suspect that her lot had not been cast so happily as it might have been, and transported her into an ideal world, where she hoped to find the happiness which she fancied to be denied her in this; nevertheless these reveries, dangerous for a heart less idolatrously devoted to virtue, did not alter her ever even temper. All in her character was harmony: like her *Melvina*, she possessed that genuine complacency which is the result of goodness. It was not by effort or by calculation that she bent her taste to the taste of others; but because the pleasure of others always preceded her own in the thoughts of her heart.

Having occasion to visit England sometime after her marriage, M. Boileau informs us that she did not neglect that opportunity of becoming acquainted with the language of the author of *Clarissa*, which was taught her by Messrs. Plimley and Kelly, masters of a commercial school in Finsbury square. We are not apprized of any further advantages that she gained from her residence among us. She returned to her native country on the first surmise of an approaching rupture between the court of St. James's and the French republic, and not long afterwards, death deprived her of him with whom she had found reason 'to suspect that her lot had not been so happily cast as it might have been.'

As this event happened in the very worst period of revolutionary commotion, we expected that some allusion would have been made to the alarming situation in which a young and rich widow must have found herself placed by the loss of her protector in such critical circumstances. It is not easy to conceive that she could have been entirely overlooked by the rapacious leaders of parties, who successively held the country in a state of terror and bondage, or could have felt herself secure amidst the many changes to which that eventful period gave

birth. Nevertheless, we cannot collect from M. Boileau's memoir that Madame Cottin suffered any unusual difficulty or alarm from the agitated state of public affairs. She retired from the capital soon after her husband's death, and in the solitude of an elegant country seat, gave herself up to the romantic visions of imaginary love which she had begun to indulge in her former situation. Yet, though now left at liberty to seek that 'happy lot,' which she had not hitherto experienced except in dreams, it does not appear that she ever availed herself of the privilege which chance afforded her, or perhaps she never met with an actual object to which she could transfer the ideal enthusiasm of her fancy.

'Love,' says her biographer, 'that ardent love, of which her lively imagination had painted so delicious an image, and of which she still felt herself to be susceptible, although her knowledge of the world made her regard it with fear and suspicion, brought nothing but trouble to a heart, which felt the necessity of loving.'

In this state of mind (which, however delicately expressed by M. Boileau, we old-fashioned critics shall never be persuaded that it is quite delicate for a lady to avow) she resorted to a very fantastic expedient for alleviating her pain, and directing her sensibility 'to an innocent object.' She set about composing romances, in which, under feigned characters, she might be at liberty to paint all the trembling wishes, unsatisfied desires, and wandering fancies of her own heart, an expedient which we should imagine to have been better calculated for driving her to insanity than for restoring her to reason.

*Claire d'Albe* was her first production. It was the work of a fifteen days delirium, executed at a beautiful country seat in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and published at Paris in 1798. It was followed in 1800 by *Malvina*, which, it is said, was composed at a seat belonging to Madame Cottin at Champlan, near Paris, where she enjoyed the society of Madame Verdier, a friend of her infancy who had been left a widow with two amiable daughters. Amelia Mansfeld made her appearance two years later. During the short peace of Amiens she amused herself in (what we are compelled to think) a much more sensible way, in making the tour of Italy and Switzerland. The year 1804 gave birth to a little poem, which is unknown to us, entitled *la Prise de Jericho*; and the following year ushered to the world Mathilde, a novel, which has been classed (as M. Boileau thinks improperly) among the *romans devots*, just at that period quite the rage in every female coterie at Paris. In 1806 she produced her last and most celebrated, though in magnitude her least considerable, work, *Elizabeth, ou les Exilés de Sibirie*, which, from its good sense, and exquisite purity of sentiment, lead us to reflect with pleasure that its writer had

probably outlived the extravagances of her heated imagination, while she retained all that refinement of sensibility which constitutes the sovereign grace and attraction of the female character. It is said that a posthumous work has since been published at Paris, but it has not yet come to our hands.

These are all the facts relating to Madame Cottin's life and character with which her biographer has furnished us; and they are such as in a great degree to supersede the necessity or use of a comment on her writings. At the hazard of being thought very unfashionable, or very cold-blooded critics, we must repeat the opinion expressed by us in a former volume while noticing her first production, *Claire d'Albe*,\* that, amidst all the language of exalted and virtuous sentiment, with which these works abound, there is in the avowed principle which inspired and pervades them, an insidious sophistry most dangerous to the heart, and most pernicious to the understanding, of young and susceptible females. Nay, so firmly are we impressed with this opinion, that we should without any the smallest hesitation, recommend to our daughters the perusal of such books as young ladies in general are ashamed to own, the works of Fielding, Smollett, or Sterne, in preference to the poisoned sensibilities of this *moral* writer. The former can only rub away some of that exterior delicacy and exquisite polish of refinement which (however desirable to be preserved) constitute rather the charm, than the virtue, of the sex; the latter subtly insinuate themselves into the heart, and there, if not expelled by the strongest innate principles of virtue, and the soundest powers of intellect, will gradually weaken the mind, and contaminate the soul, leaving only the smooth and glittering surface to be admired, while all within is emptiness or corruption.

Far be it from us to suppose that this must be the case with all young readers of Madame Cottin's romances. We are persuaded that the purity of many female minds is such as neither the open attacks, nor the more dangerous insinuations of immorality and licentiousness can subdue or wound. But, as Falstaff says, 'the soundest part of valour is discretion,' and we would in all cases, rather recommend it to avoid an enemy whom there is no honour in encountering, than to encounter him for the idle satisfaction of saying that he has been overcome.

Love is the most universal instinct of our nature, and, when united with esteem and guided by reason, it is not only an innocent, but a virtuous passion, not only an allowable feeling, but that which confers the greatest and most unbounded happi-

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\* See Vol. xv. p. 278. of this Review.

ness of which 'frail mortality is capable.' But, with Madame Cottin, it is an over-ruling and irresistible impulse, a second nature, which, if it were possible, it would be impious to deny, a law paramount to the laws of man and God, or (as she might term it) the great, first, most sacred law of God himself, a bond more indissoluble than the strictest bonds of religion and society, than the holy tie of marriage or the tender and imperious duties of parentage. In compliance with the law of custom, to one, and one only, act of love, she affixes the name, or imputes the idea, of *criminal*: and it is here that her self-delusion is most manifest, her sophistry most glaring. If every preceding step to actual vice be not only innocent, but virtuous; if to admit the first impressions of a voluptuous passion without examination or reflection, be consistent with the strictest duties of the virgin, the wife, or the mother; if to encourage and foster them at the expence of every moral feeling and habit which those conditions of life respectively demand, be a just and virtuous compliance with the law of God; if the rules of chastity can be preserved with the indulgence of every warm and instinctive emotion, if the marriage-vow can be kept by a mere external reserve with the alienation of all that is good or valuable of the heart and soul, if the whole woman may be sacrificed to the extent of every thing short of one little worthless punctilio of honour, and yet hold her place among the pure and the virtuous of her sex, how can the fall of that frail and tottering barrier which remains, battered by the incessant engines of passion, nature, and opportunity, be stigmatised with the name of *vice*? Our plain unsentimental fathers preached a different doctrine. They inculcated that the first approaches to vice are vicious, that reason is given to combat against, not argue for, our passions, that the seat of virtue is the soul, and that no act is in itself sinful but as it proceeds from, and betokens the criminality of the heart and mind.

The novel of '*Malvina*,' may not, at first view, appear so objectionable in its moral tendency as that of '*Claire d'Albe*,' which we have analyzed on a former occasion. Here there is no violation of the marriage-vow, nor any infringement (in the sense of the world) of the rules of chastity. But from what we have before observed it may appear to be our opinion, that this change of circumstance makes in reality very little difference, where the great leading principle remains the same. *Malvina* is, indeed, represented as the most incorruptibly pure and virtuous of her sex; but still it is the pernicious glare of enthusiasm, more than the calm steady light of real virtue in which Madame Cottin has depicted her character; and in the midst of her most high-sounding professions, there is nothing but the will of the writer that should prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of *sir Edmond Seymour* as well before as



after marriage. This is not the case, even with the fiction of real virtue. It is beyond the reach of Richardson's wildest caprice that *Clarissa* should voluntarily yield to the abandonment of her honour; nor could Miss Burney, with all the claims of invention, have permitted *Cecilia* to be guilty of a criminal action, without violating every rule of consistency and common sense. It is still the *omnipotence* of love which pervades the work; and *omnipotence* is a term, incapable of reserve or modification.

The heroine of this romance binds herself by a very silly vow made at the death-bed of a dear friend, to take to herself the charge of that friend's infant daughter, and never to suffer any other object 'to partake of the affection exclusively bestowed upon that sacred relique.' The absurdity of this vow, only excused by the melancholy and heart-rending circumstances in which it was taken, is heightened by the scruples to which it afterwards gives birth in the mind of the taker. *Malvina's* hour arrives; the hour, destined (according to *Madame Cottin's* creed) for every being of *sensibility* upon earth; the hour of inspiring that over-ruling passion to which all nature is created only to yield the most unlimited obedience. The fatal object is sir Edmond Seymour, a young man of the most winning exterior, of great *refinement of soul*, and unbounded generosity of temper, but withal, a most profligate rake and unrelenting seducer of female innocence. This mixture of character is in itself generally unnatural, and always accompanied with an immoral tendency; but how much is the immorality enhanced when we find a female, represented as in all respects completely virtuous, surrendering herself without reserve to the influence of the passion with which he has inspired her, after full notice has been given her not only of his past irregularities, but of an intrigue which he carries on with another girl in the very house where she is residing, and even while he is professing an exclusive attachment to herself? and what shall we say of the delicacy of that fair writer who finds nothing in the least reprehensible in this proceeding, either on the part of the gentleman or the lady?

All this time, her unlucky vow is the only circumstance that weighs heavy on *Malvina's* heart, and restrains her from confessing her love for sir Edmond and throwing herself into his arms. The strange and apparently inconsistent behaviour to which this scruple gives rise creates a misunderstanding in the mind of the gentleman. The lovers are separated; and some jealous friends of both contrive to widen the breach by artful misrepresentations. Sir Edmond all this time has three mistresses, *Malvina*, who (in spite of all his endeavours to shake her off) remains proprietor of his heart, Miss Kitty Melmor, who is a puppet to amuse his leisure hours, and 'My



Lady Sumerhill,' to whom he pays his *honourable* devoirs in compliance with the desire of his ambitious aunt Mrs. Birton.

Meanwhile, this Mrs. Birton (with whom Malvina has all along resided,) breaks up her summer-quarters in the Highlands of Scotland, and goes, with her fair protégée and all her household to partake of the winter gaieties of Edinburgh. Here Sir Edmond rejoins them and an explanation takes place between the lovers. 'Mistress Birton' discovering their good understanding, soon makes the house too hot to hold Malvina any longer; and our heroine, after a promise of marriage has at length been extorted from her by the importunities of her admirer, seeks refuge in the house of an almost accidental acquaintance, an elegant retired widow of the name of Clare. From this lady she hears several hints thrown out more strongly to the disadvantage of Sir Edmond than any that had before reached her, nevertheless her 'constant heart' admits not a single idea to the prejudice of her love till her vow is all of a sudden recalled to mind by a letter from Lord Sheridan, the father of the child, demanding the resignation of her sacred charge the moment she shall have rendered herself incapable, according to the tenor of her oath, of retaining it longer. This letter, as may be supposed, is a contrivance of Mistress Birton; but it produces the desired effect. Malvina sees her intended husband, and surprises him with her sudden resolution to break off all further connection with him. Sir Edmond will not wait for an explanation—attributes all her conduct to caprice and treachery—runs back to Edinburgh with all the rage of a madman, falls into a phrenzy fever and is soon declared to be in the most imminent danger of death. Malvina hears of his situation, and flies to his relief, and here follows one of those scenes which calls forth all Madame Cottin's best and finest powers of description and sentiment; which no reader, however fortified by dislike for the general immorality of her principles, can help feeling, nor feel without the strongest emotions of sympathy and affection. She introduces herself to the bed-side of the dying man, in the disguise of a common nurse (for he lay in Mrs. Birton's house) which it was impossible for her to enter in her own character, she watches over him with all the anxious solicitude of the most tender wife for many days and nights, during which he is incapable of knowing to whom his gratitude is due—she preserves her fortitude unshaken during the most alarming crisis of a deadly contagious disorder—she witnesses his unexpected return to sense and life—and, having accomplished her imagined duty, has the yet higher courage to retire without making herself known to him for whose sake she had undergone the greatest distresses that ever female suffered, or seeking to receive the offering of his love and gratitude which her conduct so nobly merited.

We will not do Madame Cottin the injustice to spoil, as an English translation must, the exquisite delicacy and beauty of this most affecting scene. We only wish that another disagreeable duty had not been in store for us in the relation of the succeeding part of our history. Malvina leaves the sick man's chamber by stealth, and returns to her asylum at Mrs. Clare's. Her wild and impetuous lover gradually recovers his health, and at last meets with accidental circumstances which reveal to him the generous conduct of Malvina at a time when he thought she had abandoned him without pity to all the extravagance of his affliction. They are restored to each other, and the lady, unable to resist any longer the importunities of her admirer and the violence of her own passion, yields her consent to a private marriage. But she first questions Sir Edmond concerning the mysterious hints which had been thrown out by her friend Mrs. Clare; and he, (with an ingenuousness and candour which, in Madame Cottin's perverted sense of morality, outweigh all his past misconduct, but which, in fact, it is morally impossible that one so overcharged with guilt could upon such an occasion assume) unfolds to his *patient* hearer the whole detail of one of the most horribly infamous acts of systematic and cold-blooded seduction that was ever perpetrated by the most selfish and unfeeling of debauchees, and of which he himself had been the *enactor*. The pure, the gentle, the compassionate, the virtuous Malvina does not shrink with horror from the abominable recital, but at the conclusion sinks into the arms of the worse than murderer of a defenceless female, and murmurs a confession that she is all his own!!!

They are privately married, and retire to a cottage of Sir Edmond's on the banks of the Clyde, where they pass away some days in all the delirium of permitted love and happiness. The bridegroom then takes a reluctant leave of his enamoured mistress, in order to fulfil the engagement which he had made with her previous to the marriage, to seek out Lord Sheridan and obtain from him a revocation of his fatal edict which she still deemed necessary to her public appearance in the world as a married woman.

Meanwhile intelligence of the fatal union is conveyed to the ears of the jealous Mrs. Birton, and her emissaries are instantly set at work to seduce the husband, and drive the wife to misery and despair. Edmond falls into the snare with a facility unaccountable even in the weakest of men, and within two or three short days of his quitting a young, beautiful, and adoring bride, falls a willing victim to the charms of an infamous woman with whom he had been connected, and whom he had abandoned from satiety, long before his marriage!!! The history of the human mind undoubtedly abounds in inconsistencies and contradictions, but it was reserved for Madame Cottin to

present a picture more absurd and incongruous than aught that the imagination has ever fabled in its wildest mood,

‘Of Harpy, Gorgon, or Chimæra dire.—’

The news of Edmond's infidelity, industriously circulated and maliciously overcharged with every possible aggravation, spreads like wild-fire to the place of Malvina's retirement; but its shock is somewhat allayed by her incredulity. When Mrs. Birton (another monstrous character, a fanciful compound of *disinterested* cruelty and iniquity) completes the ruin of her peace and of her intellect, by seizing the person of her adopted child under the colour of my lord Sheridan's former authority.

Edmond at length tears himself from the shameful fetters in which he has been held captive, succeeds in obtaining from lord Sheridan a revocation of his cruel edict, succeeds in extricating himself from another deep laid scheme of Mrs. Birton's for getting him *deported as a jacobin*, to the West Indies, (a very deep understanding, by the way, Madame Cottin evinces herself to possess of the laws of England!!) and full of hope and joy flies back to Scotland to throw himself into the forgiving arms of his *only love!!!*

He finds her, indeed, but finds her for ever lost to him, to the world, to herself, the wreck of an exquisite mind, the ruin of what was once Malvina. The heart-rending scenes which follow again afford evidence of the writer's uncommon powers in exciting the feelings of horror, tenderness, compassion, love, and sorrow in the reader. Many of the shades and touches of pathos with which they abound might have been claimed by Shakespear himself, or by any of the greatest masters of the human passions; the alternations of hope, fear, and despondency, the strange wanderings of distempered reason, the occasional gleams of intervening sense, which keep the mind in a state of awful suspense and lingering uncertainty to the very close of a long, minute, and eventful detail of suffering and action, are such as to leave impressions of the author's talents which yield only to regret for their abuse and misapplication.

It is possible we may be thought to have borne rather hard upon the writer of this story, since the *moral* (as it is vulgarly called) is so just and unexceptionable. Vice is at last punished with excessive misery, and even the indulgence of a passion, represented as in itself blameless, meets with a chastisement only less awfully severe than that which awaits on actual guilt. All this is very true; and yet not the less do we pronounce this tale and all others of a similar description, greatly and dangerously immoral. The *moral* which may, or may not, be drawn from the conclusion of a tale like this is a very weak and inefficient antidote to the deleterious poison which it conveys. We have hitherto had reason to boast of our superior

morality as a nation to that of our great and dangerous rival, a superiority, which, as long as we assert and support it, will (we confidently hope and trust) preserve us against all the assaults of her hatred, malice, and overbearing power. But we do lament that the edicts of Napoleon which lay an effectual embargo upon all the graver and more useful literature of the continent, should be only inefficient to prevent the importation of its pernicious romances.

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ART. VII.—*Recit Historique de la de Buonaparte en Italie, dans les Années 1796, et 1797. Par un Témoin oculaire.*

*Historical Account of the Campaign of Buonaparte in Italy, in the Years 1796, and 1797. 8vo. pp. 286. No Publisher's name. London. 1808.*

IT was the campaign of Buonaparte in Italy which first made his name celebrated in Europe. From this epoch we may date his military renown. The author says that he has long had this work in contemplation, and that it would have been published many years ago, if he had not been restrained by a regard to personal considerations.

‘Many persons,’ says the author, ‘imagine that Napoleon possesses the magnanimity of a hero; but what is much more certain is that he is vindictive in the extreme. To speak of him without praising him, is in his eyes to do him an injury. But to speak ill of him, is an unpardonable crime even on the part of those who do not live under his laws; it is a crime for which only the death of the offender can atone. The fate of Palm justifies the observation. I had therefore to wait till providence had placed me in an asylum where liberty is established, where truth is respected, and where the homicidal hand of the irascible despot cannot reach.’

The author affects to depreciate the military talents of Buonaparte, and affirms that he is more indebted for his success to artifice and to accident, than to wisdom and sagacity. He thinks that any general, placed in the same circumstances and having the disposal of the same means, would have done as much, or more, than Napoleon the Great.

‘Buonaparte,’ says he, ‘was the same in his first campaign, as in his last. He was the same in his first, when he was a novice in the military art, and in his last when he had acquired a long experience; in the first, in which he was the servant of a republican directory, and in the last in which he was the master of a mighty empire, we see a man who is full of boasting; who is intoxicated with success, which he exaggerates with impudence; who speaks most contemp-

tuously of his enemies, who cajoles the people by fallacious proclamations, and who never regards one of the promises which he has made. You see him employing the same perfidy to deceive cabinets, to paralyse the vigour of his enemies, to masque the most destructive projects under an affected moderation.—You see the same callous insensibility to the happiness of mankind; the same propensity to sacrifice to his lust of aggrandizement, the whole French people, as well as those whom he has subdued, or may still subdue; spilling blood like water; a soul inflated, but not dignified by pre-eminence; of which prosperity has invigorated all the old vices, and produced new.'

The author says that his book is particularly designed as a refutation of a work printed at Paris in 1797, and intitled 'Campagne de Buonaparte en Italie pendant les années iv. et v. de la Republique Française; par un officier general.' The force, which the Austrians and Sardinians could oppose to the enemy, at the commencement of the campaign, did not amount to more than fifty-eight thousand four hundred men, though it has been exaggerated to more than four times the amount by those who wish to exalt the courage of the French and the genius of Napoleon. Napoleon, at the same time, commanded an army of at least fifty-six thousand men: and this force was perpetually recruited and augmented by fresh troops. Buonaparte was, at the same period, a favoured menial of the directory, whom he had obliged by a copious discharge of grape-shot on the citizens of Paris on the fifth of October in the preceding year. The directory, therefore, omitted no opportunity to supply the army of Buonaparte with every possible means of insuring his success.

The Italian campaign opened with what has been termed the battle of Montenotte, in which Buonaparte, with his usual disregard to truth, pretended to have gained a victory over Beaulieu in person, though Beaulieu was, at the time, fifty miles distant from the spot. A partial conflict was magnified into a general battle and a feeble opposition into a sanguinary resistance. Of the three Austrian generals, Beaulieu, Roccavina, and d'Argenteau, who are said to have been present in the action, the first was at a considerable distance from the spot, the second was disabled the evening before, and the third instead of making a gallant defence, fled with precipitation. The battle of Millesimo, which was an inconsiderable action, was magnified by Buonaparte in his dispatches to the directory into an affair of importance. Notwithstanding the pompous narrative of Buonaparte the whole honour of the action seems to have belonged to the Austrian general Provera, who with a force of only fifteen hundred men made a gallant stand against a very superior body of the enemy. Provera had posted his small force in the ruins of the old castle of Cossena,



where he sustained the repeated attacks of Buonaparte during two whole days, when he obtained an honourable capitulation.

The author next points out the gross misrepresentations in the French accounts of the battle and the capture of Dego. After the surrender of the latter place the Austrians under Colonel Wokazowich surprised a body of French at Spigno. The French fled with precipitation; and Dego again fell into the hands of the Austrians. The garrison was struck with a panic and fled without making any resistance. The Austrian colonel was ill-supported by D'Argenteau, whose conduct was a tissue of treachery or cowardice. Dego was again invested by the French, when Wokazowich having exhausted all his means of defence, determined with his little band of warriors to force his way through the enemy by the sabre and the bayonet. The attempt was successful, and the Austrians reached Acqui. Buonaparte in his dispatches to the directory made no mention of the enterprising gallantry of Wokazowich; for, as the author remarks, Napoleon never mentions the exploits of his enemies, except when their intrepidity can serve as an addition to the splendour of his own renown.

When General Rusca was ordered by Buonaparte to summon the commander of Ceva to surrender the citadel, he threatened to put the whole garrison to the sword if the place made the smallest resistance. But the commander, who was an old soldier and a man of honour, returned an answer to this insolent summons, which Buonaparte took care to suppress.

'The citadel, which your general in chief summons me with so much arrogance to abandon, and that even before I have had the pleasure of seeing the army to which I am to deliver it up, was confided to my care by the favour of my sovereign. I have sworn to defend it to the last extremity. Ought I then to disgrace my old age by an infamous surrender before I have fired a gun? I will defend it as long as I am able; and I pledge my honour to blow it up into the air when I can defend it no longer. This is the answer which my honour dictates and I will not make any other.'

After this Buonaparte made no attack on Ceva, but repaired to Mondovi, where he obtained some advantages over the Sardinians under Colli, which he magnified into a signal victory. In the report of this battle which Buonaparte sent to the directory, he said that *the enemy were twenty to one*; and that General Colli having maintained the contest for two days with the greatest obstinacy had retired on the second night to Coni and Cherasco.

Cherasco was treacherously surrendered to the enemy. This unfortunate event determined the court of Sardinia to negotiate a peace with the French. This change in

the sentiments of the king of Sardinia was a fatal blow to the Austrian army. Beaulieu made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the three citadels of Alexandria, Tortona, and Valenza, by which means he could have prevented the French army from approaching the Po, and have acted on the defensive till reinforcements could arrive.

As soon as an armistice was concluded between Buonaparte and the Sardinian general, Beaulieu received peremptory orders from the Sardinian court to retire beyond the Po. Beaulieu had too small a force to defend the passage of that river. All that he could do was to keep the enemy in check for a short interval till he could withdraw his little army across the Adda by the way of Lodi.

Beaulieu had left a detachment of less than four thousand men to impede the passage of Buonaparte over the Po. This detachment surprised General la Harpe at Codogno, whom he defeated with great slaughter and made about two thousand prisoners. Beaulieu had entrenched himself with his rear-guard on the other side the bridge of the Adda, while the rest of his army continued its march to the Tyrol. These events bring us to the battle of Lodi, which has been the subject of so much boasting on the part of the French, and about which so many falsehoods have been told. It was at Lodi that Buonaparte had first to encounter Beaulieu in person, whom he had never seen before, though he had had the audacity to assert, that he twice fought, and beat him twice. But Buonaparte's contempt for truth is hardly exceeded by his ambition. The account which he gives of the battle of Lodi, is full of exaggerations and lies.

'My advanced guard,' said he, 'beat in the posts of the enemy, and got possession of a piece of cannon.' We entered Lodi pursuing the enemy who had already crossed the bridge over the Adda. Beaulieu had drawn up *his whole army* in order of battle! the bridge was defended by thirty pieces of cannon; I made use of all my artillery and a violent cannonade was kept up for several hours. As soon as the army reached the spot, it formed in close column, with the second battalion of carbineers in front, and followed by all the grenadiers with shouts of *Vive la Republique*. They presented themselves on the bridge; the enemy commenced a terrible fire; the head of the columns appeared to hesitate. If this hesitation had continued a moment all would have been lost. The generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, d'Allemagne, the chief of brigade Lannes, and the chief of battalion Dupat, perceived this, threw themselves at the head of the troops and determined the uncertainty of the event. This formidable column bore down every thing before it; every piece of artillery was taken on the spot; Beaulieu's order of battle was

broken; terror, flight, and death were scattered around. In the twinkling of an eye, the enemy's army was dissipated,' &c. &c.

This is a specimen of the braggart style of Buonaparte. On his side we have an instantaneous and splendid victory, on that of the enemy a prompt and total defeat. The author does not deny that Buonaparte was victorious at Lodi; that he forced the passage of the Adda, which was vigorously defended by numerous batteries, and brave battalions commanded by a distinguished general; but he maintains that the French commander inserted many falsehoods in his official reports. He says that Beaulieu had drawn up *his whole army in order of battle*, when he had not in the whole more than ten thousand men to oppose the accumulated force of Buonaparte. What could Beaulieu do in such circumstances with only a handful of men? Abandoned by the king of Sardinia, who had given up his strong places into the hands of the French, he adopted the prudent resolution of retiring into the Tyrol to wait for reinforcements. He would not have even thought of defending the passage of the Adda, if he had not felt a cogent interest in retarding the progress of the French, in order to gain time to rescue the stores of the emperor from their grasp.—Beaulieu succeeded in saving his magazines; this service was performed by a part of his army; and another part was sent to reinforce the garrison of Mantua. After these deductions from his original force, Beaulieu had not more than ten thousand men at Lodi; with which he made a memorable resistance against a vast superiority of numbers.

Buonaparte allows that the fire of the enemy was terrible, but according to him, it had no other effect than to make the French columns *hesitate*, or rather *appear to hesitate*. But the author says that the column felt not only hesitation, but fear; and to such a degree, as to fall back, and refuse to advance. He asserts this to be a positive fact; and he says that Buonaparte was so astounded, that he had recourse to stratagem to revive the courage of his troops. He ordered a republican flag to be fixed in the middle of the bridge, and pointing out this standard of liberty to his soldiers, which they could not without shame suffer to fall into the hands of the Austrians, he stifled the sentiment of fear by that of national honour.

It is not certain who it was that set up this flag in the middle of the bridge. Buonaparte has boasted of this act of heroism, which has been reclaimed by Augereau. Whoever might be the author of such an act of bravery certainly deserves to be recorded in history. But what a little diminishes the heroism of the deed is, that the bearer of the standard had not advanced a step before Beaulieu ordered the fire of his batteries to cease. He thought that the officer came to propose a parley, and he directed one of his own troops to go to meet him, and

the fire did not recommence till the French officer had rejoined his army. It is not a little remarkable that Buonaparte in his official dispatch does not mention this circumstance, which was a matter of so much notoriety. Was he unwilling to confess that his soldiers were intimidated?

Buonaparte says that his terrible column bore down every thing before it, took the enemy's cannon, and dissipated the Austrian force in the twinkling of an eye. But the author says that the Austrian army made a bold and vigorous stand even after the French had become masters of the bridge. Beaulieu had thrown up entrenchments in haste; but the French could not dislodge him from the position which he occupied. He kept up a fire of musquetry and frequent discharges of grape-shot till late at night; and he retreated the following night in good order, and without any interruption. This at least was no evidence of a total rout. Buonaparte says that he lost *only a few men*, while he makes the loss of the Austrians amount to two or three thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. It is the invariable practice of Buonaparte to exaggerate the loss of his enemies; but it is certain that in this instance he greatly extenuated that of the French, who sustained a terrible carnage from the fire of thirty cannon which raked the bridge of Lodi as they advanced. And Buonaparte himself allows that the cannonade lasted several hours.

The slaughter was so great that the French were seized with consternation and refused to advance, though they had lived in the midst of conflicts and were familiarized with danger.—But the battle was not confined merely to the attack and capture of the bridge; for there was a second attack after the bridge was taken, which was not less destructive than the first, particularly to the French, who were more exposed than the Austrians, as the latter were entrenched. Had the loss of Buonaparte been as slight as he represented it, he would never have suffered Beaulieu to retreat without further molestation. There are two sentiments, to which the bosom of Buonaparte seems as entire a stranger, as any of those persons who are most infamous in history,—the sentiment of humanity and of truth. He regards no waste of life however great, no accumulation of suffering, however enormous, which can at all contribute to advance his ambitious projects: and truth is never heeded when he feels the smallest interest to deceive.

Notwithstanding the continued and accumulated spoliations of the French troops, the author says that only one French soldier was punished for pillage during the campaign in Italy. This man was condemned to be shot at Bassano in the state of Venice. When he was conducted to the place of execution, he spoke as follows to his comrades who were present at the scene.

'You see, my friends, the dreadful punishment which I am about to undergo. As I am afraid that you are not all acquainted with the reasons which have caused me to be punished with so much severity, I will explain them to you, in few words. It is because I stole the value of three hundred livres from the wife of my host, who is under the immediate protection of the aid de camp to the Commander in chief. Beware of imitating such a scandalous example, lest you experience a similar fate. I would rather advise you to imitate the conduct of our generals. They all rob and plunder, from first to last; but their robberies are very different from mine; as you may judge from the enormous fortunes which they have amassed since they entered Lombardy.' When he had finished this harangue he threw up his cap in the air, crying *au diable la republique*; when a discharge of musquetry in an instant laid him dead upon the spot.'

When the French entered Italy, they made the people a promise of *friendship and fraternity*, and engaged to deliver them from the *yoke of the Austrians*. But this friendship was manifested only in a system of indiscriminate spoliation. Buonaparte had even the cruelty to lay his rapacious hands on the charitable establishments called '*Monts de Piété*,' which had hitherto been always respected, as the most inviolable property. But the conqueror was not restrained in the work of destruction by any considerations of usefulness or humanity. The bishop of Imola by his earnest and repeated supplication, at last prevailed on the general to spare the *Mont de Piété* of that place. But Buonaparte did not grant this favour without ample compensation; for though he had been hospitably entertained in the palace of the bishop, he yet deprived him of all the plate, jewels, crosses, and diamonds, which he had in his possession.

After the battle of Lodi, Buonaparte gave his troops some repose, when he marched towards the territory of Venice, but was recalled on his way by the report of a conspiracy in the states of Milan, which menaced the most fatal consequences. At the commencement of the insurrection, which was meditated, the tocsin was to be rung in the towers of one of the churches at Milan, which was to be the signal to the adjacent country. But a Corsican priest, who belonged to the church, where the tocsin was to be rung, was made acquainted with the conspiracy a short time before the time appointed for the explosion. The priest immediately removed and secreted the ladder which led to the bell that was to be rung, and, at the same time, cut the ropes of all the bells. When the time arrived for the tocsin to sound the conspirators retired disconcerted, they suspected that their secret was discovered, and they could no longer doubt it when they found large bodies of French troops



parading the streets of Milan, and arresting all the citizens, whose sentiments they suspected.

The tocsin which could not be rung at Milan, was rung at Pavia at the time appointed; and a general insurrection against the French immediately commenced. A violent and bloody conflict ensued, which lasted for three days. The armed force was hardly sufficient to quell the resistance of a people who were reduced to despair by accumulated ravage and insult. Buonaparte seeing the danger which threatened his army, and fearing lest the insurgents should be assisted by Beaulieu, before they could be reduced, flew to Milan, where he forced the archbishop to get into his chariot, and accompany him on the road to Pavia. Wherever he met with any bodies of armed peasantry, he ordered the carriage to stop, and made the archbishop alight to harangue the people. An old ecclesiastic with grey hairs was an imposing sight; he promised the exasperated multitude that their wrongs should be redressed, and their rights respected; and his promise was believed. Buonaparte engaged to execute what he promised. The ferment was appeased and the peasants returned peaceably to their homes. When Buonaparte and the archbishop arrived at the gates of Pavia, the inhabitants, who had got rid of the French garrison, refused to receive them within the walls. Buonaparte was thrown into the greatest consternation, he knew that if he lost a moment in subjecting Pavia, the city would be succoured by the Austrians, and the example of the insurrection followed by the rest of Italy. The Archbishop was again employed in the office of pacification; and his proposals, which the French undertook faithfully to execute, were at last accepted. But Buonaparte had no sooner obtained admission into the city, than he ordered the inhabitants to be disarmed: and abandoned the place to a general pillage for twenty-four hours.

The author says that Buonaparte erred in not pursuing the Austrians after the battle of Lodi, by which means he might have cut off their retreat and have opened an easy passage into the Tyrol. But his delay gave time to Beaulieu to throw succours of every description into Mantua, and to take a strong position in the Tyrol, where he was enabled to make an effectual stand against a very superior force. From the middle of June to the end of July the Austrians did not lose an inch of ground. Buonaparte sustained a great loss of men; and the author affirms that, for a long time, the Adige was so glutted with the dead bodies of the French, that the inhabitants refused to eat any fish taken out of that river.

The cabinet of Vienna sent a new army into the field under the command of Wurmser. This army began its operations with success; and Buonaparte acknowledged in his dispatches

to the directory, that he had *experienced some reverses*. He did not mention what these reverses were; and this defect the author of these pages undertakes to supply. The army of Wurmser consisted of about forty thousand men, including his cavalry, which could not act in the ground where he made his first attack. Buonaparte had collected a superior force. On the 28th or 29th of July, Wurmser made an attack on the whole French line, which was defended by numerous batteries. The Austrians forced the entrenchments of the enemy and made a terrible carnage with the bayonet. The French gave way at all points and fled with precipitation. Night only put an end to the pursuit.

‘Wurmser took almost all the cannon of the enemy and made eight thousand prisoners. The number of the killed and wounded amounted to more than that, and the inhabitants of the country spent more than two days in burying the dead.’

This, says the author, is the action which Buonaparte modestly called *a reverse*. The next day the enemy raised the siege of Mantua; and left behind their artillery and ammunition. But the French, from their immense superiority of numbers, soon recovered the advantages they had lost; and Wurmser retraced his steps to the Tyrol, whence he had descended six days before; but not till he had thrown powerful reinforcements into Mantua; captured the artillery of the besiegers, and enabled the place to hold out for many months.

After this, the basest treachery seems to have made its way into the army of Wurmser; for though the Austrians occupied the most advantageous points in the mountains of the Tyrol, where the nature of the ground would have enabled them to stop the progress of an enemy, however numerous, for many days, yet they abandoned those formidable positions almost without a show of resistance. The author mentions an anecdote to this purpose, which he says that he received from the marquis Guistiniani, an inhabitant of Vicenza, to whom it was told by an officer in the division of Massena. This officer with a force of only five hundred men had made three thousand Austrians prisoners, without striking a blow. He mentioned this fact at the table of the marquis Guistiniani, and with a *naïveté*, which banished all suspicion of deceit.

‘What would you think, Monsieur le Marquis, if I were to assure you that, with five hundred soldiers, I made three thousand Austrians prisoners in the Tyrol? But it is a fact which I will pledge my honour to be true. These were the circumstances. Whilst our division was advancing towards Roveredo, General Massena ordered me to take five hundred men and dislodge the enemy from

a height which gave him great advantage over us. 'But citizen general,' said I, 'would you have me with such a handful of men——he immediately interrupted me——'obey my orders instantly,' said he, 'and I will be answerable for the success.' No sooner said than done. I made my appearance at the foot of the mountain, and manœuvred like a man who meditated an attack. I did not observe that the enemy exhibited any symptoms of resistance; I suspected that it was a stratagem to lead me into a snare. I stopped and reflected on what it was best to do. Seeing the enemy continue inactive, I detached a flag of truce to tell the Austrian commander that, if he had rather surrender than fight, he must order his men to lay down their arms. This is what he did, and with such a small force I had the honour of making three thousand prisoners, who had not fired a shot.'

The author mentions several other instances which prove that Buonaparte was indebted for his success at least as much to treachery as to skill. It was owing to this treachery that Wurmser was once surprized and in danger of falling into the hands of the French; and that, prevented from retiring into the Frioul, he was obliged to shut himself up in Mantua. The author seems to think that gold was the most successful means which Buonaparte employed to paralyze the arms of the Austrians, who seemed to have experienced a sudden deprivation of their courage and their strength. It was gold which caused this sudden metamorphosis.

Aurum per medios ire satellites,  
Et perumpere amat castra, potentius  
Ictu fulmineo.

The author affirms that it was a common saying among the French officers, that 'the *louis* of France in the hands of Buonaparte were much more formidable engines of destruction than his whole army.' The author cites the following fact as a proof of the corruption which was practised to disorganize the Austrian army. He says that the information was furnished by a chaplain in that army, who had attended an Austrian soldier who was dying in the hospital,

'This soldier was wounded in the village of Marostica, between Bassano and Vicenza, when besides other wounds, he had his arm cut off by the stroke of a sabre. He was removed to the hospital of Vicenza, where he died; but some hours before his decease he was asked by the chaplain who had ministered religious consolation to him, how he lost his arm, 'Father,' said the unfortunate young man, 'if I had received the blow from an enemy, I should have been content; it is the fate of war; but the blow was given by my own officer, which rouses my indignation. I was a private in the artillery; we had placed six field-pieces in an advantageous position for

the protection of our troops. The enemy was advancing rapidly upon us. When they were within cannon shot ; I informed my officer of it, that he might give me orders to fire ; he told me to wait. I waited till the enemy almost touched our battery, and was on the point of getting possession of it, when without soliciting any direction I applied the match to the cannon. In an instant I received the stroke of a sabre on my arm. I turned round to see whence the blow came, when I saw the sabre of my officer reeking with blood. This officer was a major of artillery. He was made prisoner with all my comrades, except two, who conveyed me here.

Two Austrian armies had almost disappeared, and the wreck of the second was shut up in Mantua ; when the court of Vienna sent a third under Alvinzi ; but who possessed not the talents of Beaulieu, nor of Wurmser. Alvinzi was at first successful at what is called the battle of Caldero, when the French were vanquished, with a great loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, though Buonaparte had the effrontery to assert that he threw the Austrians into confusion as with a thunderbolt, and scattered them like hail. The next battle, which was that of Arcole, was the most obstinate which was fought between the Austrians and the French. It lasted almost for three whole days without any intermission except during the night. It began at day break on the fifteenth of November, and did not end till the evening of the seventeenth. The French could not reach the Austrian entrenchments at Arcole without passing a small bridge which was vigorously defended. Every attack was attended with an enormous carnage without producing any good effect. The columns were so much dismayed that Buonaparte had recourse to the same stratagem which succeeded so well at Lodi. Augereau took the standard of liberty in his hand and carried it to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained several minutes without producing the effect which he desired. Buonaparte says that he repaired thither in person ; that he asked his soldiers, whether they were the conquerors of Lodi ; and that his presence so animated the troops, as to determine him to attempt the passage of the bridge. But the author of this work, who was present at the battle, asserts that he distinctly saw *one* French officer, who advanced to the bridge with a standard in his hand, and that General Alvinzi supposing this to be a flag of truce, gave orders to stop the fire. But he says that he saw no *second* officer follow the first ; and that this could not have taken place without his observation.

Upon the evening of the 17th, the balance of advantages was rather in favour of the Austrians, for the French had not yet carried the bridge. They had indeed passed it on the 16th, but they were soon driven over again with great loss. But notwithstanding this to the great regret and astonishment

of his army Alvinzi gave orders to quit the position of Arcole and retire to Vicenza.

In the battle of Arcole Buonaparte is said by Berthier to have been thrown off his horse into a marsh, whence he escaped with difficulty, as he was exposed to the fire of the enemy. The author says that the following were the circumstances of this occurrence :

‘The French army having passed the little bridge which led to Arcole, and having approached too near our entrenchments, were exposed to a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry. The terror was augmented by a sally from our troops, who began pursuing the French. Buonaparte was involved among the fugitives.’—‘He repassed the bridge at full gallop, and his horse fell into a marsh; his position was very critical; he might easily have been taken or killed.’

A black, who had entered the republican ranks, is said to have been the only soldier who flew to the assistance of the general, and rescued him from his situation. Buonaparte made him a captain of horse.

The battle of Rivoli is the last which attracts the animadversions of the author. In this battle he says that Alvinzi had the victory in his hands and suffered it to escape. The battle was fought in the middle of January. Alvinzi had detached a body of four thousand men who according to the confession of Berthier had entirely turned the French army, and cut off all communication between Verona and Peschiera. Buonaparte, finding himself in this embarrassing situation demanded an armistice for an hour,

‘Under the pretext that in this interval, he would be able to draw up propositions for a capitulation,’—‘Alvinzi ought to have returned no other answer than that ‘the French must lay down their arms and surrender at discretion.’ This is what the Austrian army expected. Even the soldiers shouted on all sides *we have them fast, we have them fast.*’

But, contrary to the general desire so loudly expressed, Alvinzi acceded to an armistice for an hour. In this short space Buonaparte sent an aid-de-camp to confer with Alvinzi. As soon as this officer returned, Buonaparte made a sudden attack on the unsuspecting Austrians, a quarter of an hour before the armistice expired. In a moment the face of affairs was changed, and victory deserted to the banners of the French.

‘The general opinion of the army was that Alvinzi had betrayed his trust. This opinion prevailed at Vienna; he was recalled; and every body expected that he would lose his head on a scaffold.’

But he was made president of the council of war and commander in chief of all Hungary !!!



We have no reason to believe that the author of these pages was not, as he professes in his title, an eye-witness of the events which he describes. His details have a strong appearance of impartiality and truth; and they are curious and important from the light which they reflect on the character of the enemy, with whom we seem doomed to wage a war of extermination. It appears that Buonaparte owes the splendid success of his first Italian campaigns less to his own vigour and skill than to the misconduct and treachery of his opponents; less to bravery than to stratagem, to wisdom and energy than to perfidy and imposture. We have little to dread from the open force of Buonaparte; but we have much to apprehend from his invisible machinations and his insidious wiles.

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ART. VIII.—Klopstock's Werke. 8vo. Leipzig.  
Klopstock's Works. Vol. VII. and VIII. 1804.

IN the first volume of our third series was begun (p. 481.) an account of the new edition of Klopstock's collective works. In the second volume (p. 473.) that account was continued. We invite from motives of vanity a reperusal of it. Over all these portions of the edition which the author lived to superintend, namely, his earlier odes and the Messiah, our remarks have already extended, we have now to analyze the posthumous volumes.

Of these the seventh is but an uninteresting one. It contains, first, an aftermath of odes, chiefly directed against incidents of the French revolutionary war, which in its progress excited the animosity of Klopstock to a Burke-like eloquence of detestation.

The third ode, an obscure and driftless one, entitled 'joy and sorrow,' is for this remarkable, that it originally contained a stanza in praise of Nelson, which the poet has since degraded into a note, saying, that he retracts the praise, *because Nelson did not keep the promise given by his subaltern, commodore Foote*, and that whoever knows history, must feel the pernicious consequences of such conduct. O that every poet were thus lofty-minded; that he would weigh his praise and his blame in the balance of the sanctuary; and apportion, with the equity of the final judge of mankind, his cautious verdict! So may true glory best be separated from noisy conspicuity; and the love of fame be rendered a mighty motive for the practice of virtue.

The eleventh ode, entitled 'the new Python,' may serve as a specimen of these effusions: it is dated July 1800.

\* Not the mountain, but Allegory was in labor, In the greenest

of plains towers toward heaven a mountain girdled with flowery trees. It promised : I will bring forth a paradise. Softer breezes rustled ; but lo ! a dragon crawled abroad.

'While suckled at the rills of the mountain, it was already a giant, and when its swelling growth was complete, the shape of horror if it climbed, far-overshadowed immense fields.

'One of the strangest of marvellous shapes is the dragon : glittering scales trace on his forehead the name freedom ; and when, rejoicing in mischief, he whistles shrilly and aloud, the name he whistles is freedom.

'See on far-arching spires he rolls abroad among the nations (allow poetry to make a nation one being) and falls on the astonish'd, angry, good, people with hot impatience.

'When he is about to attack, the eyes more sparkling reddened with blood, and the greedy tongue licks thirsting the dry gums ; then he springs, narrows his screwing spires, crushes, and swallows his prey. Thrice happy the people screen'd from the monster by the loud prohibition of the almighty ocean ! In vain the threatening Python is trying to swim ; every time the wave thunders him back.'

The fifteenth ode entitled 'the conquerors and the conquered,' has fine passages ; but is too full of individual proper names to be here felt in all its historic force, the four last stanzas are especially impressive.

On the whole, these odes fall short in poetic merit of the prior efforts of the author in that line of composition. They are chiefly valuable, as an enduring record of the change of opinion concerning the French revolution, which a warm and disinterested friend of liberty underwent, from the progress of his observation. In the judgment of the philosopher, the original exultation and the eventual discouragement will probably appear alike premature. The licentiousness of anarchy usually diffuses principles, which, in the course of a generation, ripen into causes of liberal institution ; for this grievous licentiousness, the immediate remedy has been always the despotism of the leading military character in the community. The death of a Cromwell, of a Buonaparte, must be awaited, before the real tendency of an enlightened nation can be discerned, and can be matured into practical realization. To the Julius, who has acquired, may succeed the Augustus, who will so use, empire, as to render unlimited monarchy a welcome form of sway in France. But the insignificance of the Bourbons may again be invoked ; as the best chance for founding a chieftaincy, quietly hereditary, and too impotent to disobey the overawing authority of a senatorial and a representative body. Despotism seems to us not to have struck root in France ; it is maintained by the treasury of its rapacity, by the income of its plundering exactions, by a power of recompense, in short, which any retrogression of conquest or any

permanence of peace would suspend, and thus endanger. It is not systematically supported by the aristocracy of property, which is perhaps an incoercible force; still less by any diffusive superstition, whose advocates cohere; or by any select legion of intellect, who would not betray the public interest for a day longer than exigency compelled.

To the odes succeed a collection of hymns altered, for the purposes of public worship, from those of Luther, and the other Sternholds of Germany. An æsthetic dissertation is prefixed, tending to evolve the theory of religious songs. It is justly inferred that the hereditary popularity and traditional veneration, of which the Jewish psalms are possessed, render it expedient and necessary to imitate their forms, which are habitually and generally associated with pious impressions, rather than those of the moral odes of Horace and other heathen poets. Care however should be taken to suppress and obliterate the traces of those harsh, hostile, and vindictive passions, which David, Jeremiah, and the other contributors to the psalms, have too frequently expressed in all the bitterness and nakedness of barbaric feeling. The christian hymnist should infuse the tender passive philanthropic sentiments of Jesus, and write as the authors of the psalms would have written, had they profited by the suavity of his instructions.

Klopstock observes that, if the psalms be divided into those of a lofty and those of a gentle cast, the sublimer will commonly be found to require the bolder changes. The Jehovah of the Jews is described as a god, who interferences habitually with the order of nature, who by special interposition is the cause of tempests and hurricanes, of earthquakes and volcanoes, who maketh the wind his messengers, who toucheth the hills and they smoke. To him pestilence and famine, to him wealth and victory are ascribed, with a reliance and an immediateness, tending to intercept the requisite human precautions in such cases. Correcter ideas of the real constitution of the universe must be substituted; yet there is a loss of fear and hope and sympathy to be apprehended from such changes, which in our present circumstances renders the gentler psalms of preferable application. These are not susceptible of equal poetic grandeur, but the poet is to consult utility at the cost of admiration.

'Let it not be supposed,' continues Klopstock, 'that I disapprove the attempt to compose serious and sublime parodies of the loftier Jewish odes, and to colossalize those confined ideas, which occasionally appear in them, into conceptions worthy of our now enlarged knowledge. I only say that, for purposes of public worship, such poems are ill adapted; our own vulgar can seldom follow them. Pious feeling and moral sentiment, plainly, naturally, and neatly expressed, constitute the more operative and useful portions of church songs.'

‘Nor would I much encourage those poets among us to reform our hymns, to whom religion is but a secondary concern, but an opportunity the more for placing rhymes and displaying genius or art, or even by an instrument of morality. There are little touches in the poems of such men, which the critic, which the philosopher might applaud, but which interfere with those pious associations of idea, with that entirety of holy feeling, in which the comfort of a christian man consists. Great is the difference between merely imitating devotion and inspiring it.

‘The contents of a hymn ought however not to be doctrinal dissertation. Short dogmatic propositions may at most be tolerated. I advise every poet to write down his composition in plain prose, he will then become aware how much he has sacrificed to partialities of opinion, and how much to metrical embellishment. Above all things the soul is to be moved: more men are made for feeling than for reflection: true piety is rather heart than head. Complaints of our sorrows and sufferings should seldom be indulged; gratitude ought to be the predominant emotion; for God is good.

The deeds of Jesus ought more frequently to be celebrated. Lyric narrative is among the most difficult enterprises of poetry. The orderly plainness of the ballet would degrade, the bold transitions of the ode would bewilder. It is in this line of hymn especially that our literature is without model. A freer use of what may be called christian mythology, of ominous marvels and angelic appearances, could be made in such lyrical narrations. As the catholic painter, so the protestant poet, may venture to describe; the decorations of fancy do not rob the surrounding scene of its impression of reality.

‘Nor is it only the poetry, the music of our liturgic songs admits and requires much amelioration. For concerts and operas alone shall the symphonist employ his talent? Perhaps it might be advisable more commonly to compose our hymns with chorusses, and to employ the masses of singers in a congregation only to support the burden. Many of the Jewish psalms are evidently written on this plan. I have inserted several hymns in the following collection composed in a form not unlike dialogues, where the responses only are intended for the multitude to join in.’

After other similar remarks, follows a set of spiritual songs. Some are in rhyme; some in blank stanzas; many are written to be sung unitedly; a few are separated into song and chorus. All are preciouslly anointed with the nard of holiness; and, if they are sometimes childish, they are always christian. In variety of form, and in occasionally rising above the scriptural model kept in view, they may excel the hymns of Dr. Isaac Watts; but not in sweetness of sound, in natural range of idea, or in moral worth of sentiment. Both poets are too

doctrinal ; yet Watts leans more to orthodoxy and Klopstock more to mysticism. Indeed the quantity of unmeaning exclamation, of rhapsodical phrase, of idle interjection, of driftless invocation, of Hebrew gibberish, the long litanies of vain repetition, with which no rational ideas can be connected, is here so considerable, as to be derogatory to the good sense of Klopstock. One would think he placed the comfort of a christian man in exhaling inanity. To the endearing but irrational doctrine of the atonement Klopstock is anxiously attached ; but he is no where so glowingly successful, as in painting the exultations of resurrection. *Die Geistliche Auferstehung, Die Auferstehung, Die Auferstehung Jesu, &c.* seem written, like the hundred and forty-ninth psalm, for the purpose of being accompanied with dance. An oratorio made out of the Apocalypse, and called 'the Seven Churches,' deserves notice for its singularity : it is well adapted, both by its formal structure, and by the aptness of the matter, to be performed at one of those anniversary guilds of the sectaries, when the ministers, chief-singers, and lay-elders of different congregations, assemble to display their spiritual gifts in amicable rivalry. For moral value, the hymn entitled 'Sinai and Golgotha,' merits in our judgment the preference. It is in fact a versification of the decalogue, nearly as fortunate in its way as Pope's universal prayer ; where every sentence of the scriptural model drops mended from the pen of the poet. Yet the concluding stanza *Der Gottmensch king, &c.* is incoherent and superfluous. These hymns of Klopstock are not worthy of so capacious a mind ; they fall very short of that idea of perfection, which he sketches in the prefatory dissertations, nor is his idea itself conspicuously just and beautiful. The object of public worship is public instruction ; the use of song and eloquence is to draw attention : but when they are employed only to excite a mechanical fervor, and to detain notice on insignificant propositions, they preoccupy uselessly the memory, and intercept the exertion of intellect.

Sixty-seven epigrams fill the remainder of the volume. They seem to have been provoked by captious reviewers, for they mostly relate to some points of criticism. Many of them contain striking sentiments ; but they have neither wit enough nor conciseness enough to rank highly among the models in this form of composition ; the *Xenia* of Schiller and Göthe are livelier far.



ART. IX.—*L'Honneur Français, &c.*

*An Account of such Personages as have contributed to the Honour of the French Name from 1789 to the present Period. 2 Vols. 8vo. A Paris, chez Leopold Collin et le Normant. 1808.*

‘ONE of the most precious advantages of honour, considered as a political engine in the hands of government, is to create public spirit in the breast of the nation, or in other words, to dispose all minds to a perfect and unanimous concurrence in every measure which can tend to the welfare of the state, and to induce them to confound all selfish or individual objects with the common interest.’

This definition of honour, assumed by the author as the text upon which he enlarges, differs in some measure from what Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of Laws*, has advanced respecting the same principle, considered as an engine in a monarchical government. So far from considering it as proper for creating public spirit in the minds of men, we may rather conclude from what he says, that it can serve no other purpose than that of dividing the citizens, and keeping alive hatred and jealousies. ‘The nature of honour,’ he tells us, ‘is to demand preferences and distinctions; of necessity, therefore, it belongs to a monarchical form of government.’ If this were the case, it would perhaps be easy to calculate the sum total of honour which exists in a government from the mass of distinctions and rewards at the sovereign’s disposal.

With all due deference to the great name of Montesquieu, it will probably appear, upon reflection, that the primary idea upon which he has founded his system is not rigorously just. Nay, his opinion has been clearly refuted by authors of celebrity equal to his own. His avowed panegyrist, d’Alembert himself, in analyzing the *Spirit of Laws*, has not adopted the opinion of his friend without restriction; it is true that he artfully dissembles what he evidently conceives to be unpalatable in the principle laid down by Montesquieu; he does not ascribe to *honour* the base motives of self-interest assumed by the above writer; but merely defines it to be the *ambition and love of esteem*.

It is strange that Voltaire who has entered the lists with a view to tarnish the reputation of Montesquieu, should have apparently given way to the opinions of his antagonist in the midst of the struggle. Voltaire tells us that there is less honour about courts than any where else, and he quotes some Italian verses of Pastor Fido as his authority! But

if it is not all, with all the vanity peculiar to the dictator of Ferney, he adds some verses of his own, by way of summing up the evidence.

The lines are not bad, however, and, as the author assures us they contain his real sentiments, they are perhaps worth giving.

Ramper avec bassesse en affectant l'audace  
S'engraisser de rapines en attestant les lois,  
Etouffer en secret son ami qu' on embrasse  
Voilà l'honneur qui regne à la suite des rois.

To these may be added the celebrated saying of the regent Orleans; *C'est un parfait courtisan; il n'a ni humeur ni honneur.* In Voltaire's opinion this erroneous acceptance of the word honour is sufficient of itself to destroy the credit of the Spirit of Laws. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that the honour regarded by Montesquieu, as forming the principle of monarchies, bears no analogy whatever to the 'old morality,' which actuated the heroes of the ages of chivalry in Europe. Chevalier Bayard, Conde, and Turenne, would never have assumed the word honour as their device, if they considered it as equivalent to the words *ambition and self-interest.*

Montesquieu subsequently admits that honour is capable of inspiring the most praiseworthy actions, and that when united with energetic laws, it may be equally conducive to the interests of government with virtue itself. Here then we have a different kind of honour, a contradiction in terms, and the reader remains in doubt from which point he ought to set out. It is indispensable, therefore, when we establish systems, and when these systems are like Montesquieu's reduced to *formulae* to give a precise and rigorous definition of the terms employed; words which express metaphysical and moral ideas, being generally susceptible of an infinite variety of acceptations.

But if the author of the Spirit of Laws has ascribed but a bastard kind of principle to monarchies, it must be admitted that he supposes a very sublime and lofty idea to pervade democracies. Perhaps we may ask what he here means by *virtue*, for he does not explain it, although he endeavours to make his readers understand it, when he says (Chap. v. book iii.)

'A monarchy subsists independently of the love of country, of the desire of true glory, of the renouncing of self-interest, of the sacrifice of our dearest interests, and of all those heroic virtues which we meet with among the ancients, and which we know by name only.'

Thus *virtue* comprehends the love of country, the sacrifice of self-interest, and this principle only existed among the ancients. Here we have the effects of rooted prejudices in this blind admiration of the ancient republics. The Greeks and Romans have been exalted beyond all bounds, but if those who have been their panegyrists, and Montesquien among the rest, had seen the effects of the French republic in modern days, perhaps their declamation in praise of the ancients, would have been less seductive, and their unfortunate disciples less numerous.

It is but too true that the pages of the ancient historians are interlarded with the high sounding words *virtue*, patriotism, and magnanimity, while the facts they record are continually giving the lie to the pompous qualifications of their heroes. Where, we may ask, was the disinterestedness of those ancient republics, in which the patricians and plebeians waged continual war against each other: the former that they might preserve their authority unbroken, and the latter that they might snatch a few rays from their splendour? Where was this *amor patriæ* when the tribunes permitted the approach of enemies to ravage the Roman territory, and even refused to co-operate in the levying of the troops until their demands were complied with, and when the hollow expedient of the agrarian law was resorted to, in order to entrap the people?

These are considerations which render somewhat questionable the claims of the Romans to that stern virtue ascribed to them by schoolboys and their teachers.

The author of this Biographical Collection seems to be fully impressed with the idea of the superiority of the French nation, over every other in the world, ancient or modern. This is a sweeping declaration, but we are surely justified in our conclusions by the following quotation.

After a rhapsody about the Greek and Roman historians, our author exclaims:

‘Let us not be seduced then by vain declamations, let us consider things in their true light; let us consult our own history; but *above all* the collection now published, and we shall find that what we term *l’honneur François*, has produced as many and as magnanimous actions as the *virtue* of the ancient Romans.’

An extent of signification is given to the word honour, which is perhaps equally incompatible with the claims of other nations, as it is vague and indefinite when applied to France. He refers to this principle not only the great actions which have so widely extended the fame of the imperial Corsican

eagles, but also every thing relating to arts and science, letters, commerce, and industry.

Leaving the work in the hands of our readers with this short sketch of its general tendency, we shall briefly notice the arrangement adopted.

The work is divided into two parts, the military and civil department.

The first chapter is devoted to a detail of the notable exploits of Napoleon, where of course we meet with little else except fulsome panegyric. There is some interesting matter, however, when his civil and military talents are discussed. It is neatly enough said of him that he has secured the glory of France abroad, and healed her dissensions at home.

The succeeding chapter is by far the most interesting in the work ; it treats of the operations of the French armies ; the most memorable events which have signalized the various campaigns from 1792 to the peace of Tilsit, are detailed in a manner which does credit to their historian, while his claims as a biographer are no less equitable when he records the names of the military characters who distinguished themselves on these occasions. To this part of the work are added the names of the different corps and their officers, with notices of the men of genius and learning, who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt. In the introduction to this chapter, the author brings in review before his readers, the generals and other superior officers who have died in the field of battle.

The third chapter relates to the war in La Vendée which is detailed with great impartiality. The chiefs of the republican, and of the royal parties are alternately held up to public admiration for their bravery and other magnanimous qualities.

A subsequent chapter contains an account of the achievements of the French navy, and, as an English reader will naturally conclude, the details are compressed within a very narrow compass.

The medical officers attached to the French armies are consigned to public gratitude in the concluding chapter of the volume.

The civil department of the state, is the subject of the second volume of the work. It treats of the magistrates, of commerce, of the acts of the legislature, of discoveries, interesting to humanity, the sciences or learning, and finally of voyages and travels undertaken by order of the French government, and of the progress of French industry.

ART. X.—*Lettres et Pensées, &c.*

*Letters and Reflections of the Marshal Prince de Ligne, published by Madame the Baroness of Staël Holstein, containing unpublished Anecdotes of Joseph II. Catharine II. Frederick the Great, Rousseau, Voltaire, &c. &c. and interesting Remarks on the Turks, 12mo. 2 vols. Dulau.*

MADAME de Staël has prefixed to this collection an eulogium of the author, written in her own sprightly manner; but from which we learn little, except that the Prince de Ligne was distinguished by a cheerfulness of temper and liveliness of conversation, which made his company to be much sought after by the most exalted personages of his time; and that he possessed a *naïveté*, and simplicity of manners, which is very unusual among courtiers. He was a general in the Austrian service, principally under Maria Theresa and her successor Joseph II. The editor has given us very little information concerning the writer; the two most interesting traits which we have met with are, that he lost a large fortune with great composure, never troubling himself to take any steps to repair his misfortune; and that the evenness of his temper was never disturbed, but by the loss of his eldest son, who was killed in battle. We are pleased by observing that the feelings of nature cannot be extinguished, in the breast even of a courtier and a warrior.

Frederic II. and the emperor Joseph had an interview, and passed some days together at Newstadt in Moravia in 1770. The Prince de Ligne made one of the party, and writes an account of what passed fifteen years afterwards to the king of Poland. Accident brought these two sovereigns near to each other; the emperor who was young and enthusiastic, seized the opportunity of indulging his personal admiration for the king; and the old fox humoured him, probably to forward his own selfish purposes. Though there was much civility and abundance of professions there was little confidence on either side. The only effect of the meeting was to sour them against each other; a common consequence, says Philip de Comines, of the interviews of sovereigns.

‘The king,’ says our author, ‘was sometimes too ceremonious which was disagreeable to the emperor. For example, whether the motive was to shew how well disciplined an elector he was, when the emperor put his foot in the stirrup, the king took hold of his horse’s bridle; and when the emperor passed his leg over the saddle, the king put his foot into the stirrup, and so on. The emperor had most the air of sincerity, in paying him much attention, as was be-



coming in a young prince to an old king, and in a young captain to the first general of the age.\*

Frederic, philosopher as he was, had many foibles. He was a great talker; and Lucchesini artfully contrived to secure his favour by leading the conversation to subjects on which the king liked to hear himself talk. He knew too how to listen, a thing not very easy, and in which fools always fail. Frederic was abundantly vain, and did not readily forgive those who reminded him of things he would rather have forgotten. An Austrian officer, M. de Ried, spoke to him of the capture of Berlin by Marshal Haddick; and the king could never hear him afterwards. The prince de Ligne had more discretion. He took care to conceal from him that he had himself entered Berlin with the troops which took possession of it in 1760 under the orders of M. de Lacy. Frederic the Great, the prince de Ligne seems to think one of the first of mortals. Doubtless he was a very great king. But how far distant is this from being a very great man?

On the shores of the Euxine. Joseph and the Empress Catharine met to plot the partition of the Turkish empire, after the example of the recent partition and plunder of unhappy Poland. No wonder that the French revolution was so odious to crowned heads, since it crushed in the embryo this project, and dissolved as a mist, many a dream of unprincipled ambition. The prince de Ligne was again in the suite of his imperial masters, and reports in a very agreeable style what passed, to his correspondent at Paris, a French marchioness, of whom he seems to have been an adorer. The conversation seems to have been little more than the tittle-tattle, which may be supposed to pass in any polite drawing room. The observations he makes on men and manners are slight and superficial. But there are some which have given us pleasure. Among these we shall select the following on civilization, a condition of society which every community arrogates to itself; and wishes to deny to all whose customs differ from their own. The Greeks called all other nations barbarians. Europeans in general conceive that civilization does not exist in other quarters of the world. The Esquimaux too believe themselves to be the only civilized people on the face of the globe. Let us attend to the testimony of an impartial witness.

\* Caffa, the antient Theodosia,

‘ The charm still continues, but is about to be dissolved. Here is a large city, remarkable for its mosques, its baths, its ancient temples, its ancient commercial magazines, its port, in a word, by the remains of grandeur, which is about to be renewed.

‘ I have gone into many coffee-houses, and shops. Here are to

be found strangers from the most distant countries; Greeks, Asiatic Turks, manufacturers of arms from Persia and Caucasus. There is no civility, said I, on seeing them, but among those who are not civilized. Their manner of address is gentle and respectful. Their language is as noble as the Greek, or the Spanish. It has neither the lisping, nor the grossness, nor the drawl, nor the singing, which disfigure the languages of Europe. A Tartar would be much astonished on arriving in a city, the very seat of urbanity and grace, to hear on the Boulevard a coachman speaking to his horses, or, at *la Place Maubert*, a market-woman talking with her neighbour. What comparison can be made between the insolence, the avarice, and the filthiness of the European nations, and the civility, and cleanliness of this! Nothing is done here without being preceded or followed by libations. The libation of the hair-dressers regales their customers, and is a little extraordinary. They take the head between the knees, and pour one of their fountains over it.

I have seen only a single woman. She was a princess of the blood, the niece of the late Sultan Saym Gheray. The empress made me hide myself behind a skreen, before the princess unveiled herself; she was as beautiful as the day, and had more diamonds than all our ladies of Vienna together, which is a great deal. Besides these I have seen no other faces, but those of a battalion of Albanian women, from a little Macedonian colony settled at *Balacave*; a corps of two hundred, pretty women or girls, with fuses, bayonets and lances, with the breasts of Amazons and long hair gracefully woven, came to meet us in order to do us honour, but not from curiosity. There are no gapers in this country. Gaping, as well as impertinence and flattery, belong to civilization. The people neither run after us, nor fled from us. We were looked upon with indifference, without disdain, and even with a sort of benevolence when we stopped to make any enquiry.

If they were not beginning to persecute the monks in the countries of philosophers under the colour of toleration, I should say that here, *thank God*, there are neither beggars nor capuchins. The worst bed of the poorest Tartar, none of whom neither ask or have need of charity is a good Turkey carpet, with cushions, extended upon a large board. The new population of this superb amphitheatre upon the shores of the Black Sea will be very happy; the ancient which inhabited the environs of salt-marshes, was constantly exposed to the plague. If ennui, which insensibly invades the best of societies, if this ennui becomes too powerful at Paris, even in your drawing-room, fly hither, dear Marchioness; I will receive you much better than my predecessor Thoas.

Of the savage ferocity of Prince Potemkin we have the following trait. Nor does the gaiety with which de Ligne speaks of the transaction correspond with the character for humanity, which he has received from the editor.

‘Although,’ (he is writing to his master the emperor Joseph II.)

'there is not a syllable in all this to provoke a laugh; the following anecdote gave me a strong inclination. Our Cossacks, by their extraordinary speed, had taken four rascally Tartars, who had not the honour to be Turks. The prince sent for me; they were before him with an air of consternation. At first I tremble; but soon after that I hope that he is too humane to cut off their heads. The men partook of my fears, with partaking of my hopes. The prince ordered them to be seized. I tremble still more, but see no sabre raised. In an instant they are precipitated into an immense tub which I had not remarked. Thank heaven, said the prince, the Mahometans are baptized by our Greek immersion. And well soused, said I, but God be praised.'

This monster, too, conceived himself to be under the peculiar protection of Heaven.

'Prince Potemkin said to me, let us go to see a trial of some new mortars. I have ordered a sloop to conduct us to a vessel on which the experiment is to be made. We go down to the banks of the Limon; there was no sloop; they had forgotten to order one. The experiment begins and succeeds. But some sloops of the enemy are perceived, fastened by rings, under the walls of the place: they are let loose in order to approach us. Measures of defence are taken; they forget that there is some powder on the bridge slightly covered. Some is taken without any care to discharge on the barks, which seemed at the first dawn of day to be advancing. The powder takes fire. The vessel, a lieutenant colonel, a major and sixty men are blown into the air, under our eyes, and the prince and myself should have suffered the same fate, if heaven, as he immediately observed, with as much confidence as devotion, had not taken him under its special protection, and did not watch, night and day, over his preservation.'

After this we cannot be surprised if Alexander seriously thought himself to be the son of Jupiter Ammon; and we dare say that Buonaparte too is firmly persuaded that his *fortune* was a sort of guardian angel, which protects him night and day.

Among other grand qualities Potemkin is praised for his humanity. How excellent a judge the Prince de Ligne was of humanity our readers may collect from the following passage:

'As I thought they were going to employ means to take possession of the place, that is to say, either an assault or a regular siege, which would have been a business of eight days, I was eager to be present at the skirmishes as I had never seen the Spahis. Our Circassians killed some of them with arrows. That was very amusing.'

The Prince de Ligne excels greatly in the delineation of

characters. The following portrait of the unfortunate Paul was so completely verified by his subsequent conduct, that it is a strong proof of the correctness and skill of the painter.

‘ May God preserve to us the immortal empress; but as she will be so only in history, I think it essential to attend to the Grand Duke, who in reforming a million of abuses, will create others; laborious, changing too often his opinion and his friends to have a favourite, a counsellor or a mistress; prompt, ardent, irregular, he will one day perhaps excite terror, if his mother leaves him the empire; but I believe if she has time, she will make her grandson Alexander her heir; for she removes her son from political matters and gives all her confidence to her grandson. Young as he is, she herself forms him for the affairs of government. His father is at this moment wholly Prussian; but he is only so perhaps as the Dauphin was a devotee, because Louis XV. was not so.

‘ In addition to these traits, he is wrong-headed; his heart is upright; he judges wholly at random; he is suspicious, susceptible, amiable in society, intractable in affairs, disposed to equity, but carried away by his passions, which do not permit him to see the truth, grumbling, pretending to be persecuted, because his mother wishes the people to pay their court to him, and gives him every opportunity to amuse himself as much as he pleases. Woe to his friends, to his enemies, to his allies, and his subjects! Besides, he is very fickle; but as long as he desires, or loves, or hates, it is with the greatest violence. He detests his nation, and said to me once at Gatschina things which I cannot repeat.’

Unhappy is it for the human race that the well-being of millions is made to depend upon the personal character of an individual, whom the accident of birth has placed upon a throne. Unhappy too for the individual to be called to an office for which nature has denied him the proper qualifications. But in human society, we are obliged to select out of a choice of evils; and of the mass this is perhaps far from the greatest.

The prince de Ligne seems to have been personally acquainted with all the sovereigns of his day; and to have corresponded or to have received personal favours from most of them. The emperor Francis I. was his patron, at whose court he was fixed, it would seem, by the charms of love, and the bounty of his master. The emperor Joseph II. continued his kindness to him, though there is reason to suspect that with all their high-sounding professions there was little real confidence between them. During the commotions in the Netherlands Joseph entertained the strongest suspicions of the prince's fidelity. From the emperor Joseph he had a mission to the court of France, became a favourite of the Count d'Artois, and the unfortunate queen Maria Antoinette; and subsequently of prince Henry of Prussia. The consequence of this last

acquaintance was,—‘acts of goodness from the one, a zealous attachment from the other, a strict correspondence and meetings at Spa and Rheinsberg.’ Next the king of Prussia, Frederick II. perceived, as he expresses himself, his adoration of great men, and invited him to Berlin, ‘where the esteem and kindness of the first of heroes overwhelmed him with glory.’ He enjoyed also the rare felicity of being as grateful to his nephew and successor, at that time prince royal, as he was to the uncle. The two other kings of the north were not suited to his taste: the feebleness of the one (Denmark) and the vivacity of the other (Sweden) were equally in attractive; and he escaped the endless insipidity of a journey to Copenhagen and Stockholm, by giving some fetes to one of these kings, and receiving some from the other.

Some money matters of his son, who had married a Polish lady, gave him pretensions upon the court of Russia. In his way he passed through Poland, became a Pole, intrigued in behalf of a king, who owed his security to a tissue of intrigues, like all kings whose thrones depend upon the pleasure either of their neighbours or their subjects: finds him good, amiable, and attractive, and forms with him the strictest intimacy. At Petersburg he was received with so much attention that he forgot the object of his journey, thinking it indelicate to convert the kindness of his entertainment to the obtaining of favours; and the confiding and seductive simplicity of Catharine the Great, wholly captivated his heart.

Such is the writer’s account of his success with the great men of his day. If then *principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est*, the prince de Ligne must be assigned the palm of having been the foremost in this career of honour. What were the arts by which he out-stripped so many competitors? Perhaps something may be attributed to the candid description he has given of himself. ‘I have more friends (says he) than most men, because, having no peculiar pretensions of any kind, my history has nothing extraordinary, and my merit nothing alarming.’ In this there is something, but it cannot have been all. Effects must have adequate causes; and we cannot doubt that the art of pleasing his superiors was the great study of his life. He confesses in one place, that he had learnt Frederic’s dull poem on the art of war by heart, and took due occasions to quote it before him. It may be doubted whether all his measures were so innocent. He had been a tool of the nephew (William Frederic II.) even before he had seen him. ‘Some little commissions of love, confidence, money, and acts of friendship to a woman whom he loved, had united us at a distance.’ And yet he assures us he disliked restraint, and that honours, money, and favours, had no attractions for him; and wonders how in such a frame of mind, he could have passed his life at court in



every country of Europe. He probably deceived himself; but if he has described himself faithfully, there must have been another passion at the bottom; which seeks for gratification as steadily as avarice, ambition, or pride: it is vanity. But in these pages we see no more than the polished exterior of the Prince de Ligne. He may have been every thing that his editor assures us he was, polite, humane, and amiable. We do not wish to go beyond the record; nor to seek for meanesses, foibles, or vices of which we have received no evidence from the documents before us.

ART. XI.—*Theatre des Auteurs du second Ordre, &c.*

*Collection of Tragedies and Comedies as at present acted on the French Stage, intended as a Continuation to the Stereotype Editions of Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Reynard, Crebillon, and Voltaire, with biographical Notices of the Authors, a List of their Pieces, with the Dates of their first Representations. 8 Vols. in 18mo. A Paris chez Nicolle et le Normant. 1808.*

WE believe the above to be the first attempt made to collect the works of the minor French dramatists; the editors do not seem, however, to have been indiscriminate in the choice of the materials for their volumes, and their notices of various dramatic authors, and of their productions, exhibit appearances of being dictated by a correct and elegant taste for polite literature.

If we can pardon the unblushing national vanity displayed in the following introductory remarks, they contain some truths which have been but too much overlooked by the English dramatists of modern times.

‘Our theatre exhibits the most brilliant portion of our literary glory. The various geniuses who have contributed to its lustre, have equalled the ancients in the exhibition of the passions, and have almost always excelled them in the management of the fable; it would be easy to demonstrate as an incontrovertible truth, that in this latter department of the drama, they have only followed the truly regular pieces of the Greek authors, which are but few in number, while none of the productions of our modern French dramatists wander from these severe rules, which are nothing else than the term of perfection to which good sense and experience must inevitably bring all the arts and sciences by degrees: in short these rules, against which some neighbouring nations have so absurdly declaimed that they almost deserve the epithet of barbarians, are merely the result of the constant com-

parison which we usually make between objects, represented with a view to please, and the more or less pleasure, which these imitative representations afford. Productions which have at once charmed the ignorant and the learned of all countries and of all conditions have necessarily been regarded as of superior excellence, this has been uniformly demonstrated by an effect equally constant in proportion to the correctness of the relations kept up by the author with the intellectual powers of the human mind; it has been from this incontestible experience, that correct and penetrating minds have long meditated upon literary productions of celebrity, for the sake of unravelling the causes of the numerous profound and lasting impressions which they have made upon the human mind in general. Dramatic rules are nothing else than an exposition of these latent causes, which they have brought up from the recesses of the human mind; and according to this definition which cannot well be contested, we may lay it down as a principle, (the rules so foolishly ridiculed by ignorance and bad taste being simply founded upon the observation of nature), that we lose sight of what is true and natural, when we refuse to submit to her dictates without reservation or restriction. These were the opinions which regulated Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, and Quintilian, and to adopt a different way of thinking, would be to renounce from mere wantonness, the first elements of common sense.'

The author of this introduction then proceeds to express his surprise that with these great truths constantly before their eyes, the English should continue to tolerate what he is pleased to call the *literary monstrosities* of Shakespeare; here we discover the malignity of a pupil of Voltaire, and whose ignorance of the genius of our language, is perhaps more to be censured than the nationality peculiar to the French character. He proceeds to exult over our barbarism in a strain of affected liberality of sentiments, although nothing can exceed the *charlatanerie* of the latter part of the following passage.

'We must search for the causes of such prodigious contradictions, elsewhere than in the vices of the mind, in fact it would be absurd to refuse good sense and judgment to whole generations, or to assert that men who have shewn themselves to be rational in many departments of literature should become extravagant on one particular subject. A mystery like this can only be explained by referring to the weaknesses of the heart, it is in the humiliation of their national pride, it is from the vexation of being left at such a distance behind us, that they can never expect to become our rivals, it is this despair and consciousness of their inferiority, which has induced them to seek for consolation, by inventing frivolous systems against which their reason must revolt every moment.'

After consigning the English stage to a state of eternal infancy and imbecility, we find some well written panegyrics upon Corneille, Racine, and Moliere, the fathers of the French stage, and in which all men of taste will cheerfully concur, notwithstanding the depreciation in which our immortal bard has been uniformly held by the French critics.

In his zeal for the superiority of the French theatre, over all others, our author tells his readers, that even the dramatic works in his collection, which may be regarded as below mediocrity in France, possess an incontestible superiority over the most celebrated foreign dramas, particularly in the essentials of the conduct and composition of the fable. It is but justice, however, to admit that the selections before us teem with varieties of every description. In the comic department, we find correct and lively pictures of manners, and the dialogue is generally spirited and easy: while the national aptitude for intrigue is not more strikingly displayed in any department of French literature, than in the select effusions of the comic muse.

Those who are familiar with the sublimities of Corneille and Racine will be struck with a lamentable falling off in the tragic productions of their successors as exhibited in the selections before us. With respect to tragedy, the age of chivalry seems to be gone in France as well as throughout Europe.

The principal modern tragedies given to the public through the medium of the above publication are the *Coriolanus* of La Harpe; the *Mustapha* and *Zeangir* of Champfort and the *Henri* of Poinssinet. Of this last it must be confessed that the fable is romantic, but the sentiments are often distinguishable for great beauty: in point of style it approaches nearer to the great models of Corneille and Racine than any of the selections, which we have perused.

The admirers of Thalia will find about thirty comedies in these volumes, which at this moment enjoy great celebrity on the French stage. Of these the most classical are the *Bourgeoises a la mode* of Dancourt, the *Marriage secret*, of Desfaucherets, the *Philtre* of Fabre; the *Femme jalouse* of Desforges and the *Barbier de Seville* of Beaumarchais. Besides these we find almost the whole of the dramatic works of Collin d'Harleville who is described as

'A playful and spirited author, with an eloquent and graceful style, his imagination being more conspicuous than his talent for observation, and possessing the real quality of being amiable, even in his faults.'

The volumes of which we have given the present sketch are stereotyped in Didot's best manner, and are so arranged that the works of any particular author may be detached from the whole, and bound up separately.

ART. XII.—*Vertheidigung des grosser Cölln.**Defence of the Great Cölln*, 8vo. Cologne. 1808.

UNDER the title 'Vienna and Berlin,' a travelled nobleman, named Von Cölln, published a series of letters, describing his tour, and criticising, with offensive sincerity, the places and people he fell in with. The satirical character of his remarks, the unusual inurbanity of his notices, procured him readers of the coarser sort. And now a critic starts up, who, under pretext of apologizing for this abusive traveller, in fact composes a pasquinade against the original work; which is here dissected letter by letter, and made to supply, as Blackmore in Pope's essay on the Bathos, a series of examples of the art of *sinning* on the road. His cynicisms, his military criticisms, his various personalities, and his topographic libels, are successively ridiculed, but by no means in so lively a manner as Sir John Carr in the Pocket-book.

The locality of this work renders all extract preposterous; it betrays the displeasure of a Berlin-man, who is piqued at the preference given to Vienna, and at the ridicule cast on his own metropolis. One ludicrous anecdote of ignorance can be understood here. Among the errata in Von Cölln's book occurs the following:

For *Adieu nous marchons un gloire*, read *Adieu nous marchons au gloire* where the very correction leaves one blunder in *adieu* and another in the gender of *gloire*.

ART. XIII.—*Levana or Erziehungslehre von Jean Paul.*  
*Levana, or the doctrine of Education, by John Paul.* 2 Vols. Brunswick. 1807.

THIS comprehensive subject is discussed by Mr. Paul under the following heads, which constitute the contents of the work.

Importance of education. Declamation against its influence. Declamation for its influence. Spirit and principle of education. The individuality of the ideal man. On the spirit of the times. Religious culture. Digression on the origin of man and of education. Gaiety of children. Sports of children. Dancing. Music. Commands, prohibitions. Punishments. Crying of children. On the credulity of children. On physical education. Female education. Madame Jaqueline's confession respecting education. Destination of the female

sex. Nature of women ; proof of their transcendent purity of heart. Female culture, in respect to the rational faculty ;—to purity of heart ;—to benignity of disposition ;—to domestic economy ;—to knowledge and accomplishments ;—to captivations and dress ;—to serenity of mind. Private instructions of a prince to the chief governess of his daughter. Education of a prince. Letter on the education of a Prince. Moral education of boys. Moral strength or dignity. Physical corroborants. Admiration. Injurious influence of fear. Love of life. Insufficiency of passion. Necessity of a virtuous ideal. Veracity. Culture of benevolence. Means of exciting it. Benevolence to animals. Dependence of the accomplishment on moral culture. Miscellaneous consolatory rules. Danger of the premature excitement of shame, and on the modesty of youth. More immediate object of education. Language and writing. Attention and imagination, mathematics and philosophy. Cultivation of wit. Culture of reflection, abstraction, self-consciousness. On the improvement of the memory. Improvement of the taste. Beauties determined by the external senses, by the internal sense. Classical culture. Conclusion.

On these topics the author sometimes favours us with sagacious and pertinent observations ; but his ideas are often involved in such a labyrinth of metaphysical obscurity that it is difficult to find out his meaning ; the *idiom of thinking* among the literati in Germany is so very different from that in this country, that it is almost impossible to give a close version of what they say, so as be intelligible to the common reader.

The author tells us that he has not read all the authors who have written on the subject of education ; but the *Emilius* of Rousseau appears to have engaged his attention more than any other work. He thinks that no preceding works can be compared with his, and that the succeeding are rather copies than originals. It is not says he, the particular rules of Rousseau, of which many may be incorrect without injury to the whole, but it is *the spirit of education*, which pervades and animates his performance, that produced a salutary change in the schools of Europe, even down to the nursery. In no previous work on education were theory and practice so beautifully combined as in his ; he was a man who could readily transform himself into a child ; and thus he could best protect and explain the nature of children.

'No age,' says the author, has said and advised, and done so much with respect to education as ours, and no country so much as Germany, where the winged seeds of the philosophy of Rousseau have been wafted from France, and cultivated wherever a genial soil was found. The Ancients wrote and did little on the



subject ; their schools were more for young men than children ; and in the philosophical schools of Athens, the scholar was as old as the teacher. Sparta was a garrison-school both for old men and boys. The Romans had Grecian slaves for their school-masters, without the children becoming either Greeks or slaves. In those times when the great and splendid achievements of chivalry and of chivalry arose like stars in the dark horizon of Europe, the schools, which were scattered about, were only damp, small, gloomy hovels, or monkish cells.

The above remarks occur in the harangue which the author delivers on the practical incompetence of education. This harangue is succeeded by another on the advantages of education, in which we find the following remarks :

‘ No preceding period nor people since the invention of printing can be compared with this, for since that period there is no longer any state which is excluded from all communication with the rest, and consequently no state which can concentrate advantages of which the rest have no participation. ‘ Books establish an universal republic, an aggregate unity of nations, or a *societas Jesu* in a better sense, which constitute a second Europe that like London branches into several counties and jurisdictions.’

We select the following passage from the chapter, ‘ *ueber den geist der zeit*,’ on the spirit of the times :

‘ One religion after another sinks into oblivion, but the religious feeling which gave birth to them all cannot be extinguished in the human heart.” “ As long as the word GOD is retained in a language, it will elevate the mind of man to something above the earth.” “ The present times are indeed both criticising and critical, fluctuating between the wish and the incapacity to believe ; a chaos of conflicting elements ; but even a chaotic world must revolve on a centre, and be surrounded by an atmosphere. There is no such thing as pure unqualified disorder and strife, for each state supposes its opposite, if only to receive a beginning. The present religious wars, which are carried on on paper, and in the brain, are different from the preceding, which were storms mixed with flame, wind, and desolation ; they are more like northern lights, storms in a higher and a colder region, full of tumultuous coruscations, of varied and capricious forms.” “ It is a surprising but a constantly recurring phenomenon, that every age considers every new burst of light as a flame injurious to morality, though every age finds that it rises a step higher in the scale of knowledge, than the preceding without any detriment to the heart. As light travels more rapidly than heat, is the illumination of the head more readily performed than the amelioration of the heart ? and does the sudden burst of intellectual light appear injurious to the heart, which is not previously prepared to receive it ? ” “ The

present age is characterized by exuberance and mutability of opinions, and at the same time by indifference to opinions. But the last symptom cannot proceed from the first, for throughout the whole space of corrupt Europe, there is no one who can be indifferent to truth, as truth; but individuals have been rendered cold and suspicious by the numerous teachers, and preachers of error in the garb of truth." "The present state of intellectual activity, promises any thing rather than a state of stagnant quiescence; but it is only this last which produces and eternizes evil; as storms and tempests break on the breathless air. But it is impossible to foresee in what manner a period of more luminous serenity, than the present will emerge from this cloudy ferment in which we are living. For every change in the times is only a new soil, for intellectual culture; but we know not what extraneous seed the winds may scatter over the ground."

As religion is no longer a national, so much as a domestic divinity, the author thinks that we should take more pains to make the hearts of our children a house of prayer wherethey may reverence the INVISIBLE with folded hands and bended knees, if we believe in a religion, and separate it from morality.

"But what is religion? The devout answers, 'belief in God,' 'but if the question be asked, what do you mean by the word God, I will,' says the author, 'let an old German, Sebastian Frank answer for me,' 'God is an inexpressible sigh, at the bottom of the heart.'"

We have not space for further selections, and the book is hardly worth noticing a second time.

### *Digest of English Literature, for the last four months.*

#### HISTORY.

THE Chronicle of the Cid, of which the industry and the taste of Mr. Southey have presented us with an excellent translation from the Spanish, is an interesting performance. Though in this work historical facts may be blended with the embellishments of fiction, yet the whole forms a pleasing picture of the state of chivalry in Spain during the eleventh century. The heroism of the Cid while it excites our admiration, interests our affections from the softer qualities to which it is attached, and the domestic virtues with which it is entwined. There

is a degree of pathos in some parts of the narrative which will make its way to every heart. For a proof of this we need only refer to the passage which describes the parting of the Cid from his wife Donna Ximena, and his daughters, which we quoted in p. 16 of this volume. The character of the Cid presents altogether one of the most pleasing pictures of chivalrous virtue, with which we are acquainted — The historical account of the Charter house, by Mr. Smythe, will probably be gratifying to Carthusians; but its value might have been increased if the author could have obtained permission to consult the original records of this excellent institution; and if it had at the same time been enriched with biographical notices of all the men of genius, of learning, and science, whom that seminary of education has produced. — The narrative which Dr. Vaughan of Oxford, has published, of the siege of Zaragoza, exhibits a simple and luminous detail of that ever memorable event. The instances of patriotic devotion, which it records, are sufficient to kindle emotions of enthusiasm in the coldest breast. This small performance is at this time, particularly valuable, because it shows that the genius of liberty can create resources in the most adverse circumstances, and that if the same spirit, which inspired the citizens of Zaragoza, had been felt in the other towns in Spain, every Frenchman would long since have been put to the sword or expelled from the peninsula. — Mr. Chatfield's Review of the State of Hindostan is a highly judicious and erudite performance. It bears ample testimony to the learning, the discrimination, and the philanthropy of the author; and it exhibits an instructive and agreeable account of the politics, the commerce, and the manners of Hindostan from the earliest times. — The history of Cleveland in the north riding of the county of York, which has been written by Mr. Graves, contains no large portion either of instruction or amusement.

### BIOGRAPHY.

Of the works which we have to notice in the biographical department — the first is Lord Woodhouselee's Life of Lord Kames. This ample work is a mine which contains a great deal of pure ore, though it is sometimes mixed with matter of a less valuable kind. It comprehends, in some measure, a literary history of Scotland during more than half a century. We have noticed a few of the defects in the copious account which we have given of the work itself, and we shall not enlarge on them here. We have always more pleasure in commending excellences, than in censuring defects; and the two well furnished volumes of Lord Woodhouselee contain much more that deserves eulogy than blame. — The Memoirs of Robert

Cary, earl of Monmouth written by himself, and the history of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, by Sir Robert Naunton, contain striking and characteristic pictures of the times.—Bancroft's life of General Washington contains few particulars which were not previously known, but it is perhaps not inferior in execution to any of the accounts of that truly great and amiable man which have hitherto appeared.

### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The picture of Valentia, by Christian Augustus Fischer, is a lively description of this enchanting part of Spain.—M. Fischer is one of those travellers who seldom suffers the attention of his reader to become languid and inert; he makes him in general a spectator of the scene, and communicates a portion of the interest which he himself felt. His diction is rather too florid, and his colouring too warm; but these defects are perhaps more excusable in this than in most other species of composition. The rich views of nature, or the varied works of art, when the sensation of novelty is added to the interest, will cause the spectator when he endeavours to invest his ideas in the drapery of words, to employ those which are perhaps more gorgeous and resplendent than a correct taste would admit, or than the subject required.—Sir John Carr's Caledonian Sketches, of which we have given a copious account, contain a variety of amusing particulars which will render his book a pleasant lounge in an idle hour.—In Burgoing's Modern State of Spain, we find a large mass of information relative to a country which, till the recent revolution, excited but little interest, and was but little known in the rest of Europe.

### POLITICS.

Comber's 'Enquiry into the State of national Subsistence,' is a sensible and useful work. It throws considerable light on some very intricate questions in political economy, and it proves in opposition to the anti-commercial theory that the supply of food is most defective and irregular in those countries which are purely agricultural. The letter which Sir Richard Phillips has addressed to the livery of London, contains much useful instruction to those who are destined to execute the important office of sheriff. The author has developed various abuses in the prisons of the metropolis, and has recommended some useful reforms, of which we hope to see the accomplishment for the honour of the country and for the alleviation of the sufferings of those, whose misery is usually most destitute of solace, and whose distress is always attended with circumstances of bitter aggravation.—In our number for March we

paid a good deal of attention to Mr. Wyvill's pamphlet on intolerance; and we embraced that opportunity of explaining the ecclesiastical reformation which was patronized by the court in the glorious reign of King William III. but of which the execution was frustrated by the bigotry, the selfishness and the malice of some narrow-minded priests. Mr. Wyvill deserves no common praise for the *constancy* which he has exhibited amid numerous mortifications, violent opposition, and heart-rending disappointments, in defending the cause of that civil and ecclesiastical reform which would perpetuate the constitution both in church and state.

### PHILOSOPHY, MORAL, PHYSICAL, AND METAPHYSICAL.

The Philosophical Transactions for 1808, Parts I. and II. will be found analyzed in this volume. Many of the papers are important, and do honour to that truly venerable society. We have given particular attention to those of Mr. Davy, because they contain facts which are the most important of any which modern chemistry has brought to light. They open new views in all the sciences connected with analytical researches; and they will assuredly confer immortality on the author, who is equally modest, industrious, and acute.

### MEDICINE.

Dr. Reece's 'Medical Dictionary,' will be found a useful manual even by professional men for occasional reference and consultation; but it is more particularly adapted for the use of the clergy and other benevolent persons who reside in the country, and are anxious to acquire a sufficient knowledge of pharmacy to enable them to minister relief to their sick and suffering fellow-creatures. Dr. Uwins's 'Modern Medicine,' does not contain any novelty of information; but the author is an agreeable writer, and never provokes our contempt by his shallowness, though he does not excite our admiration by his profundity.—In his remarks on diseases and particularly consumption, Dr. Woolcombe has brought together a good deal of important information. He has displayed much industry and research, and has evinced a degree of candour and a love of truth, which are creditable to his understanding and his integrity.—Dr. Kentish deserves our praise for his 'Essay on warm and vapour Baths.'

### POETRY.

The author of 'Fowling,' has produced a very pleasing poem,



which is not only free from any infection of the prevailing bad taste, but is distinguished by many true and legitimate beauties. The author who is said to be a young man has furnished an attractive specimen of poetical powers, which we hope that he will not suffer to wither in neglect but cultivate with that constant care without which permanent excellence is seldom attained.—The poems of Miss Evance manifest sensibility, delicacy, and taste.—Mr. Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns* will undoubtedly gratify the numerous admirers of that enthusiastic son of song, though they will not make any addition to his stock of fame. We do not always approve the prevailing fashion of scraping together every line which even genius wrote. The object is often not so much to do honour to the departed author as to make money by the impress of his name. We are far from saying that this is the motive with Mr. Cromek, but the practice is too common not to deserve pointed reprobation.

### NOVELS.

In *Amphlet's Ned Bently* some of the characters are well-drawn, and the author, though he has lost sight of probability in many parts of his fiction, has preserved a strict and scrupulous delicacy in his love scenes.—*Geraldine Fauconberg* is a correct and faithful picture of genteel life, and of what genteel life ought to be. The characters are easy, natural, and well-drawn; the lights and shades are properly varied, and the whole picture displays good keeping. We can with a safe conscience, recommend to our young female friends the imitation of the amiable *Geraldine*. Her winning gentleness, her retiring elegance, her steady judgment, exhibit an excellent example.—In her '*Ida of Athens*,' Miss *Owenson* has delineated the character of her heroine with a just and glowing pencil; but we again request this ingenious lady in her future productions, to repress the luxuriance of her fancy and to guard against those vices of style which we have reluctantly noticed in her present performance.—In a work entitled '*Cœlebs in search of a wife*' we have noticed some trivial defects, but they are greatly out-numbered by the general merits of the performance. Some of the theological tenets are such as do not coincide with our own, but we cannot but highly commend any sincere attempt, such as this appears to be, to check the progress of fashionable dissipation and to promote the interest of virtue, and of piety.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

The work entitled '*Juvenile Dramas*' is a pleasing performance. The characters are delineated with delicacy and discri-

mination; and exhibit that refinement of manners and sobriety of thought, on what may be termed family matters, which it is of essential importance to impress on the minds of youth of the softer sex — Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logic* proves that the author was well acquainted with those qualifications which are requisite to constitute an accomplished and dexterous debater. In our account of this work we made an ample selection of the rules which it contains. Many of the observations are as acute as they are just. — In his '*Institutes of Latin Grammar*,' Mr. Grant has evinced much thought, judgment, and experience.

*In this Appendix we have omitted the 'Digest of Politics' in order to devote the space which it occupied, to what more immediately constitutes the office of a literary Review.*

ALPHABETICAL

AN

# ALPHABETICAL INDEX

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